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This case study examines the development and problems of the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee, Inc. (MYCAC), one of the local anti-poverty agencies in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. The agency's major effort is to overcome problems created by the decline of the local steel industry by supporting existing welfare agencies, and through such innovative institutions as community centers. The target groups include older retired persons, youth (especially late adolescents), high school dropouts, workers facing displacement because of technological change, socially disadvantaged groups (Negroes), and the physically handicapped. MYCAC jurisdiction does not overlap with that of the county; this fact has made program coordination difficult because of a relative lack of appropriate organizations which might naturally join community action in the area, and by the double requirement that it relate its activities downward to 31 local community action committees, and upwards to the Allegheny County community action agency. (Seventeen tables of demographic and economic data are included and discussed.) (dm)

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A COMMUNITY ORGANIZES FOR ACTION:

A CASE STUDY OF THE MON-YOUGH REGION IN PENNSYLVANIA

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Therefore, points of view or opinions stated do not necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

PREFACE

This study was one phase of a project on "Research, Development, and Demonstration in Adult Training and Retraining" which was financed by the United States Office of Education. The entire study was conducted under the auspices of the Institute for Research on Human Resources of The Pennsylvania State University. The views expressed herein represent those of the authors and in no way reflect the views of any governmental agency. Grant N. Farr, Head, Department of Economics, The Pennsylvania State University, assisted in the over-all planning and direction of the study.

The authors of this report, Robert W. Avery and Herbert A. Chesler are affiliated with the University of Pittsburgh, in the Departments of Sociology and Economics, respectively.

Final responsibility for the entire project and this report rests with the project director.

Many persons from various government agencies, universities, and private organizations contributed formally and informally to the conduct of the project and to the achievement of its objectives. They are too numerous to mention. However, a specific reference should be made to the work of John H. Marvin, who was associated with the project staff during the early phases of the project. He contributed significantly to the organization of a community action program in the Mon-Yough Region of Allegheny County and to the stimulation of research in the area. Various members of the staff of the Institute for Research on Human Resources also contributed, in many ways, to the end result. None of these is to be held responsible for any views expressed.

Jacob J. Kaufman
Project Director

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INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the process by which the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee Inc., (MYCAC) was organized and has developed between 1964 and 1966. The formation of MYCAC and its activities after its inauguration have provided the bases for a study of the feasibility and effectiveness of a community action program in an area of numerous relatively small communities with close economic and social linkages, whose economic base has been adversely affected, but whose traditions have never included significant political cooperation in meeting common problems. Chapter 2 describes and analyzes the relevant events in the process of organizing, the major problems encountered, and the responses to those problems. Chapter 3 analyzes the objectives and activities of MYCAC. Chapter 4 sets forth the economic and demographic profile of the Mon-Yough Region.

In common with Allegheny County, in which it is largely contained, the Mon-Yough Region is heavily industrial, dependent upon steel production for its principal livelihood. As changes have occurred in the economic arrangements in the steel industry, these have been reflected in the entire economic and social fabric of southwestern Pennsylvania.

However, the Mon-Yough Region differs markedly from the rest of Allegheny County in several respects. (1) The rate of population growth in Mon-Yough has been less than that for Allegheny County as a whole. (2) The average age of its population has risen. Between 1950 and 1960 the number of persons 45 years and over rose by more than 5 percent; those in the age group 19 years and younger rose by more than 3 percent. However, those in the age group 20-44 years declined by one-fifth, substantially higher than the one-eighth decline for Allegheny County. (3) Mon-Yough in 1960 had a smaller proportion of non-whites (7.6 percent) in its population than did Allegheny County (8.3 percent). The proportion of Pittsburgh's population in the non-white category was almost double that of Mon-Yough. In fact, most of the non-whites in the County are concentrated in a few neighborhoods in Pittsburgh. (4) In the post-World War II period the Mon-Yough area has had a concentration of its economic base as markets for steel have been penetrated by foreign competitors and as technology has been adopted in other steel producing areas in the United States, leaving the mills in Mon-Yough older, higher cost producers highly sensitive to small fluctuations in the demand for steel. (5) The Mon-Yough Region has never possessed a political tradition of cooperation among its component communities.

In this setting, the impulse to create MYCAC slowly took shape in the early 1960's, spearheaded by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). By 1964 the passage of federal legislation, designed to apply to some of the problems of regions like Mon-Yough, provided the stimulus to attempt a formalization of a community action agency in these localities. When it became apparent that the area by itself lacked the resources and expertise necessary to such a task, The Pennsylvania State University enlarged its scope of participation in that endeavor when it was agreed (between the University and the U. S. Office of Education) to test the extent to which the University could act as a change agent by supplying a person to act with the local participants in seeking a basis for a viable and permanent community action organization. In addition, the University was to continue to study and analyze the process by which the community worked toward organization by community action.

In this study the evolution of community action in Mon-Yough is conceived as a synthesizing process in which parts of other existing organizations are recruited and merged to form a synthetic organization (MYCAC). The future character of a community action organization is hypothesized to be contingent upon the nature of the components which are drawn into synthesis and their eventual goodness of fit. The participants in the new organization, though members of other existing organizations, presumably agree to participate in forming a new institution because its objectives converge with commitments which these people are already serving. An ideally synthesized organization, then, can most readily grow in a setting where its mission is a generalization of the more specific goals of an array of diverse organizations. In consequence this idealized organization would stand in a complementary relation to each of many other organizations in that each would facilitate the work of the other through cooperation and common membership. As a generic class, synthetic organizations are in principle equipped to attain goals of broader scope than are any of the component organizations which contribute to them.

In practice, of course, the state of perfection embodied in this idealized conception is seldom approached. Nevertheless, the idealized form provides a useful benchmark against which the experiences of the organizers in Mon-Yough can be compared.

It is convenient to distinguish four phases in the history of MYCAC:

1. The Aspirational period, which was the early period when a handful of people, including some in the USWA, defined the

region's essentially economic problem, diagnosed Mon-Yough as the victim of a progressive disease of growing unemployment and underemployment, and set forth aspirations which would bring about its recovery. The founders operated from the conviction that the region could only be revived to the extent that its poorer families could be assured of opportunities for work, education, and full access to the cultural resources of 20th Century America.

2. The Mobilizing period took form as the aspirations became fixed and the number of committed individuals and groups slowly grew.
3. The Formalizing period, whose beginning was marked by incorporation of MYCAC in early 1965, gave additional impetus to the mobilizing work and provided a mechanism within and through which mobilizing could be accomplished.
4. Synthesizing was the final phase. The synthetic process had really commenced earlier but was given special stimulus in November 1965 when MYCAC received its first federal grant, and in the following month when a fulltime Director was appointed and the assembling of a staff began. In August 1966 MYCAC received OEO approval for its conduct and administration grant which will support it through August 1967.

The task of achieving internal cohesion among the individual members of MYCAC has proceeded relatively smoothly. One reason for this lack of internal disharmony comes from the role and activities of the "change agent," the University researcher who participated from the early stages. In fact performing the functions of a Director, he helped develop support for MDTA programs and for community action, worked closely with the Bureau of Employment Security, assisted in the recruitment and selection of a Director for MYCAC, and helped to steer activities away from potentially explosive issues for which he had developed a sensitivity in his role of disinterested "outsider." As a consequence of the intervention of this "change agent" MYCAC was created and sent into its formalizing phase with a minimum of internal friction among its members.

The movement toward synthesis has been confronted with two kinds of difficulties: (1) the relative dearth of appropriate organizations which might naturally join community action in Mon-Yough; and (2) the double requirement that MYCAC relate its activities "downward" with those of local community action committees and "upward" with those of the Allegheny County Community Action Program.

The dearth of complementary and supportive agencies such as universities, research institutes, public and private social agencies, employment agencies, churches, associations benefitting handicapped groups, and many others has been a serious problem. It has meant the relative absence of the talents of professional specialists capable of being utilized by the community action program to provide advice and services available in large cities.

The second problem—that of the role of MYCAC in the entire structure of community action programs in the area—has only been partially met. Unlike most community action programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, MYCAC is not associated with a geographical area which is also a single political unit. Its 31 municipalities are not united save through the fact that they all lie within Allegheny County. Intercommunity endeavor is a new experience for most of them. Thus, MYCAC from the beginning has had the major task of enlisting support from these separate communities, each of which could participate in the "war on poverty" without associating with MYCAC. Furthermore, by 1965 Allegheny County had already formed an organization to construct programs for the entire County (except Pittsburgh). MYCAC then has had to justify its status both to its prospective constituents and to the County organization. Obviously this has been fertile ground for possible jurisdictional disputes.

In general, this problem thus far has been reasonably met by some ingenious and imaginative activities. With regard to its local constituencies, MYCAC has operated at various levels. It has made fruitful and durable contacts with political leaders in the localities, acquainting them with the problems to which MYCAC is directed and the proposed programs for combatting them. It has sought to enlist the support of individuals and institutions. It has provided contact and facilities for the poor. With regard to its relationships to the Allegheny County organization, an agreement was reached in December 1965 that MYCAC would forward its proposals for grants through the Allegheny County Committee for review, either for forwarding to Washington with a favorable recommendation or for return to MYCAC with suggestions for revisions. This distance between MYCAC and the County has not become institutionalized into alienation. A step toward fuller accommodation has been made by the addition to each board of one member from the other board. This type of synthesis, brought about by common membership, also is occurring between MYCAC and the emerging community action committees in several Mon-Yough communities. Thus far, at both levels the leaders seem to view the cause of disagreement to be inadequate or non-existent channels of communications, not the personalities and willful behavior of the opposition. So long as this continues, the possibilities of amicable and constructive resolution of potential conflict are enhanced.

MYCAC has sought to enlist support for community action on the grounds that the region as a whole can hope to prosper if its poor residents are rescued from sub-standard social, economic, and educational conditions. Thus far, the USWA (the most influential union in the area) has endorsed MYCAC by financial contributions and through the efforts of members who are active in MYCAC. The same cannot be said of the business community. Business leaders are more problematical. They have not yet contributed substantial support, financial or moral.

As MYCAC has moved toward fuller synthesis, a series of objectives has come to be recognized. Though these objectives did not evolve by any official process of discussion and collective decision within MYCAC, they have nevertheless come to be commonly understood through the kinds of activities in which MYCAC engages or proposes to engage. The objectives are as follows:

1. to ascertain the needs of the poor of the region and to devise regularized means for meeting these needs;
2. to identify different groups among the poor for which it may be necessary to develop different programs;
3. to coordinate activities of existing organizations which seek to serve the poor;
4. to engage in compensatory activities which would supplement work undertaken by other organizations which have been unable to do this work adequately;
5. to provide employment for some of the poor in positions which will be created when programs are authorized.

In pursuit of these objectives, MYCAC has engaged in varied activities and programs. At least one major hurdle seems to have been negotiated successfully: The Committee is now regarded as *the* locus of the "war on poverty" in Mon-Yough. It has sought and established working contacts with the "poor." Though MYCAC lacks the kind and quality of services to the poor found in large metropolitan areas, it has enjoyed some successes. Among its activities in support of existing institutions to serve the poor, the following are notable:

1. From the beginning its founders have worked closely with the local Employment Service Office, assisting in the preparation of proposals for training programs subsequently funded by MDTA.
2. The founders were instrumental in initiating an evening school to give adult drop-outs an opportunity to finish high school. Related but separate is an experiment being conducted in McKeesport by

The Institute for Research on Human Resources of the University to study the effects of a program in both academic and vocational curricula upon young high school drop-outs.

3. Headstart programs were publicized, explained, and supported when those programs were initiated.
4. Communication was established with the clergy in the area explaining the existence of MYCAC and inviting a coordination of efforts.
5. Though some social agencies are active in Mon-Yough, many are not represented at all. The following operate in Pittsburgh, requiring travel by Mon-Yough clients if they are to participate in these programs: Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, the Pennsylvania Association for the Blind, Child Welfare of Allegheny County, Allegheny County Adult Welfare Service, Legal Aid Society, the Pittsburgh Child Guidance Center, the Pittsburgh Hearing Society, and the Veterans Administration. MYCAC has offered gratis its presently vacant offices to any agency willing to fill it with a professional person who can provide direct service. Thus far, the Association for the Blind has accepted this invitation.
6. In an unplanned way, arising from MYCAC's contacts on both sides of the labor market, the Committee has come to function as a placement service in bringing employer and potential employee together.

In addition to these activities of MYCAC in support of existing institutions, there have been some steps taken which are designed to be innovative in Mon-Yough. Though the services embodied in these activities are commonplace in large metropolitan areas, they have been absent in Mon-Yough. Some of the more important are summarized below:

1. MYCAC has recognized the lack of a community center which is multi-functional and "total" in meeting the needs of its clients. A proposal to establish such a center for nine communities is currently pending with the OEO.
2. MYCAC has proposed the establishment of a Pre-Vocational Opportunity Center for the Handicapped which would include a rather complete array of special programs for the handicapped persons of the area.
3. In addition to the counseling which MYCAC furnishes to persons referred to its office, it will also maintain an information and referral center for persons in need of specific service available in the community.

4. A proposal has been submitted for a program to identify potential high-school dropouts and to intervene with means to discourage the potential from becoming a reality.
5. MYCAC has taken the initiative in arranging to utilize VISTA workers assigned to housing projects to participate in programs of play and recreation for children resident in public housing projects, programs which are under the supervision of the McKeesport Recreation Department.
6. MYCAC is interested in participating in a research project currently under consideration by the Institute for Research on Human Resources and some of the major steel producers of the area. The study proposes to examine in detail the phenomenon of intermittent unemployment of steel workers with an eye to the feasibility of programs of training for workers to be displaced in steel mills, in advance of their layoff.

Some general observations regarding MYCAC are pertinent. The emergence of this organization into a working mechanism with a charter to promote and initiate change is a realized fact. The admitted scepticism and dubiousness of the observers, which were present throughout most of their relationship with the events that unfolded in the Mon-Yough Region, now are gone. The full synthesis, however, has not yet been accomplished, and is not likely to be until the elite agents of the Region's political and business leadership take steps to affirm positively their willingness to both participate in and support the role of MYCAC. However, the second necessary condition of success seems to have been fulfilled, namely that the organization identify and relate its goals to the needs of that segment of the population which it wishes to represent, in this instance the poorer families of the region.

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COMMUNITY ACTION IN THE MON-YOUGH REGION: A STUDY IN ORGANIZATIONAL SYNTHESIS

A. INTRODUCTION[1]

The earnest national effort to eradicate poverty has engraved uneasy images upon the American mind. The urban ghetto, the submarginal farmer and the migratory laborer symbolize conditions which stand as the foes of the war on poverty. Poverty in the smaller cities and towns is less easily dramatized and therefore may receive less attention than that which is concentrated in the decaying slum or suggested by the rural shack. In the intersticies lie very many towns, most of which have their poor. Some of these towns are isolated and dispersed, while others fall into natural clusters, related to each other by a common dependence upon the same economic activity.

One such cluster occupies the southeast portion of Allegheny County. Its communities are strung along the Monongahela and Youghiogheny River valleys, extending upward and away from the rivers over an abrupt and uneven terrain. Crowding the banks of these rivers are the elongated mills which give the region its essential character and most of its wage-earners their employment. The remembered past, the present and the foreseeable future of the Mon-Yough (pronounced Mon-Yock) area pivot around steel. Productivity in the mills and prosperity for the region's families are locked into nearly a one-to-one relation. A strike, a shutdown, or a cutback is immediately felt.

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[1] This study has been carried out principally by the two writers but also through the participation and cooperation of very many others. The two authors, together with the "university researcher" referred to, have, since December, 1964, acted as participant observers with and of the people and the events described in the report. They have been provided with constant access to documents, records, offices, formal meetings, conferences, and many informal conversations. They have sought to be present not continuously, but often enough to serve the double purpose of accurate description of significant actions, and of construction of an analytic scheme ("the synthetic process") which could be developed to the point at which it would yield hypotheses for the study of the evolution of organization for community action.

To acknowledge by name the debt owed by the authors to everyone who made this study possible would be to identify persons who might not wish to have their work publicized, particularly under the interpretations of it which are given in the report. The authors are nonetheless grateful for the privileges which have been extended to them.

Despite the fact that this corner of Pennsylvania no longer holds a pronounced advantage over the rest of the country in the production of steel—its juxtaposition to stores of coal having been overcome both by removal of much of the coal and by the use of other forms of power—there is little expressed feeling of apprehension about the decline or death of steel production in the valleys.[2] On the other hand there are signs—usually not unambiguous to be sure—that this may be the hard fact of the future. Steelworkers have known periods of unemployment in the past when the market for their product was depressed. They see new mills being erected elsewhere, but not at home. But they have also known revivals; a mill will close or will be reduced to two shifts but will return after a time to full operation. Thus they are not inclined to plan now for the worst eventuality, and perhaps are not even disposed to contemplate it. As one long-time resident put it: "As long as the smoke keeps coming out of those stacks, we're all right."

A few others not quite so intimately affected have another opinion. They accept as basic premise that over the next generation steel will lose much of its importance in the area. Vigorous foreign and domestic competition will make its production in these valleys steadily less profitable, and unemployment will mount as mills close and as jobs are "absorbed" through automation. Representatives of the steel companies themselves do not endorse this view, even privately. But at least one of them has conceded that the future is uncertain, and that it is possible that changing conditions in the marketplace may force some closings.[3]

It was through these circumstances that residents of the Mon-Yough Region saw the evolution of the design for a "great society." One of its harbingers, the Manpower Development and Training Act, was sponsored in the House by the area's Congressional representative. This occurred during the early portion of the present period of steadily increasing national productivity, at a time when Mon-Yough was still—as it is not now—designated as a depressed economic area. The Economic Opportunity Act followed to create the possibility for collective effort to deal both with then-existing poverty and unemployment as well as to construct machinery to cope with the human problems which would inevitably arise in the event of the loss of jobs in the mills.

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[2] That is, there is little spontaneous expression of this apprehension. That there is much concern held below this surface is evidenced by the anxious sentiments collected by a newspaper reporter in response to his direct questions about the futures of citizens in the region. *cf. The Wall Street Journal,* June 27, 1966, p. 1.

[3] Personal communication.

Not more than a handful—a score at the most—of the people who were in a position to link the services offered by the Economic Opportunity Act with the problems of the whole region moved to act, at least in the first months following its passage. One of these who felt most strongly that the region had already begun to follow a generally downward course was neither a resident of it nor an employee within it. Nonetheless his position in the headquarters of the United Steelworkers of America gave him a stake in it and some leverage to do something about it. He personally conducted a "save Mon-Yough" campaign by knocking on doors in Washington and in nearby universities, by alerting officials to provisions of the bill well before it became law, and by discovering in a district office of his union several men who saw the problem and the opportunity as he did, and who were ready to go to work.

This USWA official was also instrumental in urging several professors at The Pennsylvania State University to consider Mon-Yough as a prime area for their research on manpower problems. A contract between the United States Office of Education and The University was entered into and The Institute for Research on Human Resources assumed responsibility for the work which leads to this report.

The events which have unfolded in the intervening three years, in the wake of this initial recognition and impetus, form a natural history of the development of organizations for community action.

It is convenient to recognize four phases in this history, though it is important to emphasize that the phases were not as sharply demarcated from each other as the following labels may imply: (1) Aspirational, (2) Mobilizing, (3) Formalizing, and (4) Synthesizing.

The first in this list designates the early period when a handful of people, including some in USWA, defined the Region's essentially economic problem, diagnosed Mon-Yough as the victim of a progressive disease (increasing numbers of unemployed and underemployed), and set forth aspirations which would bring about its recovery. Even though "community action" was not then a by-word (as it became later in the wake of the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act), the founders were firm in their ideological conviction that the Region could only be revived to the extent that its poorer families could be assured of opportunities for remunerative work, for adequate education, and generally for full access to the cultural resources of 20th century America. No single point in time separates the aspirational phase from the second or mobilizing stage, for almost as soon as aspirations had become fixed, the founders began to increase their number of committed citizens by endeavoring to mobilize individuals and groups to their cause. This was a slow and gradual process which did not cease in early 1965 with the incorporation of the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee.

Incorporation, marking as it did the beginning of the Formalizing period, gave additional impetus to the mobilizing work and provided a mechanism within and through which mobilizing could be accomplished. Mobilizing was a necessary pre-condition for the final phase, Synthesizing, which will presently be discussed in detail. The synthetic process had really commenced somewhat earlier, but it was given special stimulus in November, 1965, when the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee (MYCAC) received its first Federal grant, and in the following month when a full-time director was appointed, and a staff hired.

This chapter captures, it is hoped, the most salient features of the history of this community action and is presented as a case study.

B. THE PROCESS OF SYNTHESIZING

Community action, by its very nature, is a synthesizing process.[4] On its face it is composed of individuals, distributed over an array of committees which are responsible to an executive group or board. It may or may not have a paid staff. The people who are involved ordinarily bring a reservoir of public spirit to their task which is guided by their commitment to the ideological goals of the action itself. The impression which is created is that their organization grows naturally, even spontaneously, out of the common interest in community betterment shared by the individuals. While this may be true enough as a generalization, it is nevertheless an insufficient description. Many of the participants do not act solely as individuals. They typically also hold other positions in their community in ongoing organizations of various types: political, business, religious, charitable, educational, etc. The new roles which they accept in community action will likely be infused with some of the purposes for which they are already working in their other memberships. Thus while they may not be officially designated representatives of any organization or constituency, they do introduce into their new collective effort many of the diverse interests which they are elsewhere pursuing. It may even be that they see the nascent organization as an opportunity to further the realization of these interests, this being a sensible and consistent ground on which they might be attracted to join in community action in the first place.

While this way of viewing the matter may smack of opportunism, an attempt to capture for one's own use a fledgling organization which has not yet settled upon its own structure and specific goals, this is not a necessary implication. It is possible that the general mission which occasioned a call for community action in the first place is congruent with the special aims of many separate organizations, though beyond the reach of any single one. In this event it is equally opportunistic for the original sponsors of the new organization to seek the involvement of such people. By so acting, the sponsors may hope to attract not only the motivational resources of many individuals, but the cooperation and perhaps some of the resources of their other organizations as well. In time a community organization which has been composed of parts of existing organizations actually becomes a synthesis of all of them. It is in this sense that community action, as it progresses, may be viewed as a growing synthesis of already present materials.

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[4] For an earlier statement and application of this concept, see James D. Thompson and Robert W. Hawkes, "Disaster, Community Organization, and Administrative Process," in George W. Baker and Dwight W. Chapman, editors, *Man and Society in Disaster*, Basic Books, New York, 1962, p. 268 et seq.

While this is an idealized conception, it is nonetheless useful for it supplies a baseline against which the effort to organize the Mon-Yough Region may be compared. The idea of a synthetic organization invites attention to numerous questions which are germane but might be overlooked. It immediately suggests an inventory of present organizations to ascertain which of them might have legitimate reason to lend support and energy to a new enterprise. On the other side it sensitizes planners to that category of organizations which have ends in contradiction to those of the planners. It also permits identification of the residual group of organizations which would simply be indifferent to the new aims. With this initial mapping in hand, the sponsors may then proceed to assess the distribution. Does the first group of potentially friendly organizations show promise of being congenial to each other as well as to the planned action? Are they collectively strong enough to overcome or neutralize the resistance of the second group? Are there steps which can be taken to convert indifferent organizations in the third group into willing participants? This query raises the possibility that a newly formed organization may provide machinery for the *indirect* enhancement of goals of existent organizations. Even though there might seem to be no common element between a profit-seeking business firm and a poverty-reducing community organization, it might be demonstrable to the first that the second may incidentally alter their common environment in ways which contribute to the profitability of the firm.

What is ultimately sought, according to this idealized conception, is a synthetic organization which unites the mobilizable components of organizations with similar goals, while protecting itself against dictation by one or a few of these organizations, all the while preserving the integrity of its own mission. It should be clear from this prescription that no real organization could achieve this state of perfection. Organizations which participate in the synthesis through their members will exert control, and in uneven amounts. Goals and purposes of the participants which in the abstract seemed to be congruent will not always coincide when concrete issues are posed. Since the general mission will necessarily take on more refined meaning in the light of specific actions decided upon by the synthetic organization, there will be occasional and possibly constant tension between the hopeful phrases describing the mission, and the meaning of the consequences, of the organization's action. At critical points this tension, which normally inspires constructive discussion about goals, may become great enough to arouse destructive accusations of willful compromise of these goals. In these circumstances the organization may well have to make a trying decision between an alteration of its goals and the defection of an important member.

A synthetic organization, as any other, will move through its phase of initial growth to the stage at which its structure, its procedures and its operating goals do indeed become relatively fixed, institutionalized. Institutionalization is doubly faceted. Because it links rationally established routines with the valued goals which these routines serve, it tends to suffuse these routines themselves with the intrinsic meaning attached to the values, thus making the routines difficult to change without seeming to do violence to the values. At the same time institutionalization provides the foundation for regularity and predictability. It not only channels the motivation of members, but also supplies normative justification for this channeling, at once reducing uncertainty and surrounding prescribed actions with a sense of essential rightness. The perfectly institutionalized organization then has no trouble eliciting cooperation from its members, but it is fearfully vulnerable to changes in its environment that would force it to adapt by revising its goals and procedures.

C. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF COMMUNITY ACTION IN MON-YOUGH

The Mon-Yough Community Action Committee has not yet reached the point at which it could become settled into an institutionalized form; it is still in an early phase of its development. Created as an independent, non-profit corporation in early 1965, it passed through its formalizing phase as a committee composed of volunteers who were drawing plans for their permanent organization. This was officially inaugurated in December of that year with the receipt of a grant of $27,997 from the Office of Economic Opportunity, supplemented by local contributions from the United Steel Workers of America ($2500) and several of the municipalities in the region. This grant provided for the employment of a small staff (a director, an associate director, two secretaries and an aide) and the acquisition of office space and equipment. The grant guaranteed support for the organization through June, 1966, by which time proposals for specific programs to reduce poverty in Mon-Yough would have to be designed, approved and financed through further grants in order to insure the continuance of MYCAC. Thus for the first time the organization was in day-to-day operation. This report reviews the organizational aspects of its effort and, without assigning praise or blame, describes the character of the principal problems which MYCAC has been obliged to confront and to try to solve.

In the aspirational period, before MYCAC was formed or even conceived, there had been a brief history of community action in Mon-Yough directed mainly toward the problems of unemployed and unskilled workers. In the wake of the passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act (sponsored by the congressman representing the Mon-Yough Region) a local MDTA advisory committee had been appointed, chaired by an official of the USWA. This committee, acting in cooperation with the director of the local office of the Bureau of Employment Security and his staff, had been instrumental in planning and requesting federal support for several courses through which people in the area were given vocational training or retraining.

While these conventional programs met, at least in part, a need made more urgent by the area's depressed economic condition at that time, they did not reach to the core of what the committee believed to be the fundamental deficiency of many adults in the region, viz., their lack of the fundamental skills provided by public education. These people had been "drop-outs" before the word was popularized and had come to stand for a national problem. Though MDTA made no explicit provision for general education as an appropriate area for manpower training, the Mon-Yough group was able to secure authorization for such a program under Title I of the Act, defining its plan as a research and demonstration project. Thus in 1964 an evening course in secondary education was conducted which gave high school equivalency certificates to those who completed it.

As the bill to fight poverty was being discussed in Congress, the MDTA advisory committee began to widen its horizons and, by the end of 1964, had begun to consider ways in which the Mon-Yough Region could effectively initiate programs which would fall under the Economic Opportunity Act. In December of 1964 this committee, now calling itself the Mon-Yough Community Action Program Advisory

Committee[5] sponsored an area meeting which brought the Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and several other federal officials, to McKeesport for two days. The subsequent report which this informal committee delivered to municipal officials and interested citizens throughout the region commented upon the themes stated by these visitors and looked forward to the future:

> ". . . The import of their messages was that the local community must assume local initiative if it is to benefit from the anti-poverty legislation.
>
> More than one speaker indicated that many of the communities in Mon-Yough were too small to mount programs that would meet area needs. Cooperation is essential, but the multiplicity of governmental units in the Mon-Yough area makes it imperative to obtain a full-time professional coordinator familiar with the needs and available resources.
>
> The coordinator would operate in close cooperation with . . . the Allegheny County Director of Economic Opportunity. Since (he) is nominally responsible for carrying the program to 128 communities in Allegheny County, the Advisory Committee believes that any move to provide (him) with assistance will be welcomed. In no way is it the intent of the Committee to interfere with or slow down either the County Commissioners' program or those now underway in Mon-Yough area communities.
>
> If the proposal to establish a full-time professional position responsible to the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee meets with the approval of governmental leaders of the Mon-Yough area communities, then it is the intent of your Advisory Committee to process incorporation papers and the request for professional staff as rapidly as possible."[6]

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[5] There is no stipulated procedure whereby responsibility for organizing a community, for the purpose of securing funds under the Economic Opportunity Act, is officially vested in one person or group. Any citizen who is minded to may seek to collect others into a committee and go to work. Eventually, of course, a committee must receive recognition from the Washington Office of Economic Opportunity, and such recognition is understood to be contingent upon the representativeness of the committee, particularly with respect to the group which the Act is intended to benefit: the poor. In the present case the Mon-Yough MDTA Advisory Committee had been encouraged to take initial steps toward broader community action by the Mayor of McKeesport.

[6] This is an excerpt from pages 8 and 9 of "A Proposal for a Mon-Yough Area Community Action Program" which was transmitted by the Chairman of the Mon-Yough Community Action Program Advisory Committee under a cover letter dated January 25, 1965.

This passage indirectly highlights one problem of the mobilizing phase which was, and continues to be, difficult to overcome: the necessity for many community action workers to comprehend the very complex organizational situations and working procedures imposed upon the Mon-Yough committee. In addition to the effort required to understand the relevant provisions of the legislation, it was necessary for workers to separate the functions of the MDTA Committee and the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee, and further to keep distinct the different missions of the County Committee, the Mon-Yough Committee and the local committees in some of the municipalities. Since all of these organizations were beginning work at about the same time and therefore could not use past accomplishments as concrete illustrations of their purposes, they were constrained to state their goals in general, and therefore rather ambiguous, terms. It was especially trying for Mon-Yough sponsors to have to explain these intricacies to each new person from whom cooperation was sought or participation requested. It would be understandable if some prospective volunteers were discouraged from participation because they misunderstood these arrangements or could not understand why they were so complicated.

In the spring of 1965 this temporary advisory committee was transformed, through incorporation as a private and not-for-profit organization, into the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee, Inc. Since its bylaws provided that each of the 31 constituent communities in the region should appoint one member to the Committee, there was little overlap between the composition of the new and old committees. However, MYCAC's elected officers had all been active during the earlier formative months, and the MYCAC president represented continuity with the work of earlier years for he had been, and continued to be, the chairman of the MDTA advisory committee. Thus the work of the mobilizing period carried community action directly into its formalizing stage.

With incorporation completed, MYCAC turned to the task of establishing itself on a permanent basis. First it urged each municipality to pass a resolution in its council officially recognizing MYCAC as the regional agent to coordinate community action, and to contribute $75 or $100 (depending upon whether its population was less or more than 10,000) to MYCAC. The USWA had already pledged $2500 to MYCAC. This together with the local contributions would provide $3000 which was needed for MYCAC's ten percent share of the approximately $30,000 which would underwrite the permanent organization for the first eight months of its life. MYCAC would be able to move forward from a committee composed of volunteers which met monthly to an organization with a salaried staff which would be in daily operation, as soon as it could write its proposal for a program development grant, receive approval for that grant both from the County Office and from Washington, and hire its people.

These actions consumed all of the months from the spring through late fall of 1965. Approval by the County Committee was delayed by that Committee's request that MYCAC add members to its board who were poor. This necessitated a revision of the bylaws permitting the Board to appoint people who had not been nominated by local municipalities. (It seemed unrealistic for MYCAC to require some of its communities to be represented by people who were poor, while others were given free choice.) The question of the relationship between MYCAC and the County Committee, which is discussed below, could not be settled in one meeting of representatives of the two bodies. Before agreement was finally reached on guidelines which would regulate this relationship, both groups appealed to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. The subsequent exchanges of correspondence along the lines of this triangle continued until September, when the County Office of Economic Opportunity forwarded to Washington the MYCAC request for a program development grant. Because this application was not prepared in full accordance with established procedures it was returned to MYCAC for a final rewriting, with the result that it was not until the first of December that money was made available and the assembled staff could commence work.

The account so far records the chronology of official events in the formation of MYCAC but it neglects what the participants themselves would call the "real work" of organization-building. At least in the Mon-Yough valleys people did not move spontaneously to cooperate, even with the incentive of a 90 percent offer from the federal government. Communication about this opportunity through conventional channels is slow and unreliable. Even when it is efficient it is ordinarily insufficient because responsibility to respond to it has not been institutionalized. Those who would be the beneficiaries of the action, the poor, are among the last to become acquainted with the opportunity. In any case they lack experience in the tactics of collective organization and the bureaucratic ways of appealing to, and working through, a federal agency. Public officials were free to involve themselves or not, as they chose, and in Mon-Yough there were some who made the first decision and others who made the second.

In consequence it fell to the earlier advisory committee, and later to MYCAC (which meant, for the most part, its officers) to employ the telephone and the written communication, but mainly the voice in face-to-face contact with myriad mayors, councilmen, school officials, businessmen, representatives of voluntary associations (such as the YWCA, the Mon-Yough Association for Retarded Children and the NAACP), and very many individuals (such as the director of the regional Bureau of Employment Security and the director of the area's industrial development organization) to gain at least the tacit, if not the active, support of segments of all of the communities which might be affected by MYCAC's work. Nor is this list exhaustive. To it should be added the director and members of the County Committee, the members of the various local community action committees which were being formed through the period, officials in Harrisburg and in Washington, staff members and occasionally officers of the USWA, and—by no means least—the area's representative in Congress and members of his staff. Had it not already been well-known that an informal process of communication and persuasion is indispensable to organization-building, the Mon Yough experience would have sufficed to prove the point.

Through the winter, spring, and summer of 1965 this informal process was carried forward by someone whose original mandate did not call for this at all. One researcher on the staff of the Institute for Research on Human Resources had been assigned to assist the MDTA advisory committee and the Bureau of Employment Security in their work of planning new training programs. Almost imperceptibly his role was altered by the pressure of events and by his own inclination. Developing support for new MDTA programs, and making institutional arrangements for them, was so closely akin to the matter of organizing the region to confront its poverty that it would have been difficult for this researcher to confine himself to the first and to ignore the second. In time he became accepted and rather well-known as a proponent of MYCAC. Despite this involvement, he retained his principal status as an "outsider from a University," making it more possible for him to assure any who were apprehensive that he was not acting for any special interest group within the community.

A detailed account of his day-by-day activities, contained in a diary which he kept, affirms that "informal organizing" occupied most of his daylight hours on Monday through Thursday of every week (when he was on "detached service" in McKeesport; on Friday he returned to State College to teach his course), and very many of his evenings as well. On an "average" day he might spend the morning in the headquarters office of an oil company, seeking their technical advice and their assurance of opportunities for employment for men who would be trained as service station attendants in an MDTA program. In the afternoon he might sit down in a borough hall with councilmen, appraising them of the opportunities in the Economic Opportunity Act and urging them to contribute money and at least one person to MYCAC. In the evening he might speak to the members of a union local, imploring them to press their municipal councils to enlist in the war on poverty.

As MYCAC evolved it became apparent to some that this researcher was the logical person to become the director as soon as that position could be created; he was virtually doing the director's work without the title. He might have been offered the position had he wanted it, but he did not. He did, however, take a leading part in the search for and selection of a director, and in so doing was able to supply essential continuity to MYCAC.

In thinking about who the first director should be, he was guided by many hints and cues he had inadvertently gathered in the course of his informal organizing. To select a person from the Region would necessarily mean selecting that person from one of the 31 communities. He wished to avoid any feeling that one community had been "favored," particularly if that community should turn out to be McKeesport. (Through all of this history many participants have been sensitive to the possibility that smaller communities might come to see MYCAC as being dominated by its largest city). The matter would be solved, he believed, if a qualified outsider could be found.

His contemplation also led him to consider whether the director should be white or Negro. The fact that many large cities, including neighboring Pittsburgh, had appointed a Negro to this position had already defined this issue. Further, there was sentiment among some Negroes in Mon-Yough that, because the national war on poverty had been conceived as a "program for Negroes," a Negro should be selected. On the other hand his hints and cues had told him that some of the community support he had already generated might be jeopardized if a Negro were made director. In illustration, he had been told by an official in one municipality that "some of the council members here are suspicious of this poverty war. They don't like the idea of a program directed to the benefit of just one group." (In context, the reference was unmistakeably to Negroes).

Instead of being swayed by the "pressure" on one side or the other, this researcher retained an open mind, consulted with many individuals and groups including the MYCAC officers, and including also the local leaders of the NAACP. As it happened two of these NAACP leaders were social workers and were also active in MYCAC. They, and one white social worker, had wide acquaintance with other members of their profession in the County and were able to identify, rather quickly, one community worker in Pittsburgh who presented the professional qualifications desired by MYCAC. Though white, his known ability and his personal attributes (he had worked closely with one of the Negro social workers) made him acceptable to the Negro leaders. His willingness to take the position made the remainder of the selection process automatic and routine. The MYCAC Board approved his appointment and the question of the color of his skin was never publicly discussed.

The organizing work of this university researcher throws into relief some of the characteristics of the social "change agent." Being himself uncommitted to any side of a local issue which might divide its citizens, he could be trusted by all. By showing through his own actions that he would not betray confidences, he was able (or so it surely seems to the writers) to learn the "real" interests and private sentiments of very many people. Then by guiding a whole organization, through his close relation to its officers, away from issues which might be explosive, he was able to set it on a course which all members could readily accept. Whether, in the ultimate judgment which might be made on this matter, this accomplishment is an absolute good is for someone else to decide. What can be said here is that, as a consequence of the intervention of this "change agent," MYCAC was created and sent into its formalizing phase with a minimum of internal friction among its members. Disharmony has been so conspicuous by its absence that an observer, mindful of the intramural struggles which have marked the organization of community action committees in other areas, might find MYCAC board meetings almost dull.

"Informal organizing" has also been an almost constant preoccupation of the Director and Associate Director of MYCAC. After opening their office in December, 1965, they had just seven months to generate plans and programs sufficiently attractive to local citizens and to OEO officials to warrant further contributions from each in the one-to-nine ratio.

To accomplish this the new director first interviewed many candidates for his staff, eventually selecting a social worker as associate director (Negro), two secretaries (one Negro, one white), and one young military veteran and graduate of an MDTA program as office aide (Negro). The staff then moved along several lines simultaneously. Some of these (assisting individual communities to form their community action committees, seeking the participation of people as volunteers for MYCAC, consolidating relations with municipal officials and organizational leaders generally) were continuations of the earlier efforts of the University researcher and MYCAC's officers. Others had not been attacked systematically before the staff arrived (ascertaining the needs of the poor in Mon-Yough, inventorying the professional services available which might be integrated into MYCAC programs, and the preparation of proposals for programs which would serve the poor). This last task was urgent. If not completed by early May, 1966, there would not be enough time for processing and review of its applications in other headquarters before the money would stop at the end of June.

In April, MYCAC sent forward its request for a conduct and administration grant to provide funds for its staff and office, following this in May with applications for two programs, one of which would open community centers for the poor in several Mon-Yough communities, while the other would identify potential drop-outs among high school youths and attempt to deter them through part-time jobs and the services of social case workers.

As this report is being written in August, MYCAC has received OEO approval for its conduct and administration grant which will support it through August, 1967. The program for drop-outs has been deferred and the proposal for community centers, now approved by the County, has been sent to Washington.

D. MOVEMENT TOWARD SYNTHESIS IN MYCAC

If the task of achieving internal cohesion among its individual members has proceeded smoothly, the complementary problem of establishing synthesis has been more difficult, mainly because of (1) the relative dearth of appropriate organizations which might naturally join community action in Mon-Yough and (2) the double requirement that MYCAC relate its activities "downwards" with those of local community action committees and "upwards" with those of the County Committee.

Comparable organizations in very large cities have been able to attract services and contributions of an extended array of professional specialists drawn from public school systems, university faculties, research institutes, public and private social agencies, employment agencies, churches, associations benefiting handicapped groups, and many others. *Their* synthesized organizations are in large part an amalgam from all of these and more. Mon-Yough, for its population (more than a quarter of a million in 1960), has a relatively small complement of such ancillary organizations, and what they have are understaffed in relation to regional need and limited in their financial support. For example, there is only one college in the Region, a branch of The Pennsylvania State University. There is one facility addressed to the needs of retarded people, a workshop which uses one floor of a McKeesport building, but it can accommodate at most 20 people. One regional office of the state employment service is available to Mon-Yough residents seeking jobs or new jobs. While representatives from these and various other service organizations generally expressed interest in MYCAC and occasionally came to its meetings or took part in its activities, there was only one person (aside from officers and members of the Board and committees) in the category of those whose professional advice would be useful to MYCAC who, from the beginning, regularly came to Board meetings. She was a social worker who recognized that an organizing committee of laymen might be able to use the counsel of a professional. She was not even a resident of Mon-Yough, and has since moved away from the area. The presence of just this one person symbolized the absence in Mon-Yough of specialists whose professional commitment would lead them to become engaged in a community endeavor which depended for its success upon expertise which they possessed.

In the above list of kinds of organizations which might become active partners in MYCAC there is one which, of necessity, is as well represented in Mon-Yough as it is everywhere else: the public schools. This is also the organization which again, of necessity, has much first-hand experience with poverty through its teaching of children from low-income families. Its professional staff members might be expected to volunteer in numbers to place their special knowledge in the service of MYCAC. Several Mon-Yough school districts did sponsor Headstart programs in the summer of 1965, MYCAC's board includes two school teachers, and at least one other school teacher is active in its work.

The second of the two enumerated problems which made synthesis difficult points to the most persistent challenge which MYCAC has faced, a challenge which was imbedded in the conditions which surrounded its birth. Unlike most of the community action organizations spawned by the Economic Opportunity Act, MYCAC is not associated with a geographic area which is also a single political unit. Though the Mon-Yough region has a somewhat unified character because of its general dependence upon the steel industry, its 31 municipalities are not united save through the fact that they all lie within Allegheny County. History has not required them to join in common enterprises, so that inter-community endeavor is a new experience for most of them. From the beginning MYCAC needed not merely to elicit support for its goals and programs, it was compelled also to convince people in these separate communities that they should enlist and cooperate with each other at all.

The matter was complicated by the fact that it was possible for each community to participate in the war on poverty without associating with MYCAC. Under the Act any community may form its own organizations which would construct programs for the entire county (with the exception of Pittsburgh). MYCAC then had to justify its status both to its prospective constituents and to the county organization.

It did so on the same ground which had led the original sponsors to decide that Mon-Yough shared a set of problems which differed from those in much of the remainder of the county, but which would almost certainly not be resolved by the region's municipalities were it left entirely to their separate initiatives. To these early planners Mon-Yough was a natural area for cooperative work. Its total population was large enough to warrant programs of an intermediate nature (such as adult education) for which there seemed to be a need but which no single community could afford by itself. As an organization interstitial between the community action committees of the individual communities below it, and the county committee above it, MYCAC commenced operation as a multifunctional entity. Its ideology in behalf of the future of the Mon-Yough region defined its primary mission. But its peculiar juxtaposition to similar organizations above and below it dictated that it develop some terms of accommodation with these neighbors so that their goals would be mutually facilitated. Obviously this was fertile ground for self-defeating jurisdictional disputes.

Attention to this matter commenced in the mobilizing phase and has continued to occupy members up to the present. In late 1964 when MYCAC was being initially planned, a nucleus of interested people from Mon-Yough had been formed. Among the first to be consulted were people from the two cities in the region which had already formed their local committees, McKeesport and Clairton. These two committees were then preparing applications for Neighborhood Youth Corps programs; their representatives to Mon-Yough found their respective purposes to be complementary. In time some of the other communities appointed their own local committees also, with encouragement from MYCAC which saw these as necessary building blocks for its own foundation. A mutual understanding evolved which amounted to an agreement that MYCAC would not plan to locate any of its facilities in municipalities without the prior approval and cooperation of that municipality's committee. MYCAC also offered the services of its staff to aid in the drafting of local proposals over which MYCAC would not have supervisory responsibility. In 1966 the MYCAC director and associate director spent very many evenings attending meetings of these committees, assisting them with their formation and organization.

In this "extra-curricular" work the directors were actually forwarding the informal process of organizing which had been set in motion by the university researcher, who had since moved on to a new job. While they were able to profit in part from the organizing momentum which he had begun, they did have to establish themselves in everyone's eyes as the legitimate leaders of the still-new organization. Also their arrival and his departure coincided with the fall municipal elections of 1965 which brought several new men into mayorships and councils. In these instances it was necessary for the directors to acquaint these people with MYCAC's mission and with its complicated organizational status (previously noted), and then to attempt to show these public officials that MYCAC possessed the potential to ameliorate the chronic problems of their poorest citizens.

Their task of gathering support was normally defensive rather than offensive. They did not need to secure open endorsement and active participation (though this was welcome and in a few cases did occur) as much as they required the assurance that they would not be confronted with opposition. As they proceeded with this work they discovered that they did not have to negotiate with "power structures" or ruling elites in their communities. If such existed in Mon-Yough's towns, their leaders apparently did not view MYCAC either as a threat or as an opportunity, for no one in any of the communities came forward to attempt to dictate terms on which MYCAC's presence would be accepted, nor did they try to exact favors nor exert influence upon MYCAC's plans or programs. When and if MYCAC matures to the point where it is a significant employer, with larger numbers of people working for it and receiving its services, it may well become recognized as a target for influence and as a potential political force ("potential" here should be underscored, for MYCAC's leaders have no political goals for it and have so far been able to maintain its apolitical status), but it is not that now.

By attending first to their relations with political leaders, the directors were clearing the ground for a kind of cooperation they knew they would need later, and have since gained in many communities. They were always conscious of the fact that any program could be stymied if they could not provide the ten percent contribution from local resources, and MYCAC by itself had none at all save staff, office space and equipment. The request for small contributions ($75 from towns with less than 10,000 people, $100 from the rest) had resulted in a modest fund, but the fund-raising experience had been difficult enough to convince MYCAC that it could not depend upon these sources for the much larger contributions it would need to subsidize its share of substantive programs.

In consequence the directors alerted themselves to an alternative: the substitution of facilities "in kind" in lieu of cash. These items are scarce, too, since they are not without their economic value, but what there are of them are likely to be at the disposition of municipal councils and school boards. As it happened, the directors had quickly identified the absence of community centers as one of the most patent deficiencies throughout Mon-Yough. Many of their early meetings with citizen's groups from individual communities revealed present and felt needs for such versatile institutions.

When this match between the directors' diagnosis and the communities' complaints occurred, the ongoing work of gaining good will from public officials and others paid off. In eight localities the latter were agreeable to the free use of available space (e.g., in churches, schools and public housing authority buildings), which MYCAC then had evaluated as rental property. The total value proved more than enough to make up the local contribution for MYCAC's first program for community centers which would sprout up all over the region. Before the end of July a proposal for these was written, was approved by the County Committee, and was submitted to OEO.

What had made it possible for MYCAC to conclude its first phase of informal organizing with the design for this regional program was the measure of synthesis it had been able to achieve with many of its communities. The eight communities participating in this venture (to open community centers) had all been carefully drawn into MYCAC's operation. All of these communities' representatives on MYCAC's Board were also leading members of their local community action committees. What is remarkable about these leaders, whose actions in two places were contributing to the process of synthesis, is that they were not themselves "poor," but would be considered "middle class." They could and did work together with poor people and they could and did (with the encouragement of continuing advice and assistance from MYCAC's directors) carry out informal surveys of the needs of the poor in their own communities. Without such middle class "synthesizers" it is certain that MYCAC's small staff could not have moved as quickly, and doubtful whether they could have moved far at all in constructing programs which would mesh with community needs. These first seven months, then, confirm what MYCAC's original planners had sensed, though in an abstract way. In order to reach people who are dispersed in small and widely scattered groups, it is necessary for an organization with at least two levels (more will probably evolve in the future) to be created. Eventually face-to-face relations have to occur between the server and the served, and this cannot be the work of a regional committee.

In part the relations presently existing between the local community action committees and MYCAC are similar to the relation between MYCAC and the County Committee. (Taken together all of these constitute an informal hierarchy, informal because initiative is supposed to come from the community, rather than being imposed downwards). The total proposal for the community centers includes a separate proposal from each participating community, written by each local committee (again with the consultation of the directors of MYCAC) and reflecting its peculiar circumstances (a "golden age" facility in one aging community, recreational opportunities for the children of densely populated housing projects, etc.). If these projected centers become growth points for more extended programs in these communities, as it is anticipated they will, then more "organizational levels" will emerge between each local community action committee and the ultimate recipients.

As one peers ahead into the future of MYCAC on the assumption that it and its subsidiaries will grow, it is easy to imagine that it could become little more than a communication link, passing OEO instructions downwards and processing grant applications upwards. If such should occur, it might very well become dispensable, particularly if it should be viewed as a "bottleneck" or impedance. If MYCAC does follow this course, a future historian may comment that it had served its purpose once organization building had been essentially completed, but that it afterward had lost its function.

The visible forces presently at work do not foretell this outcome. MYCAC's distinctive ideology, which justifies its primary concern with the economic future of the steel-dominated Mon-Yough valleys, cannot be easily assumed either by the County or the individual municipality. As long as this ideology lives and holds meaning for the people of the valleys, there will be a role for MYCAC. Whether MYCAC will continue to make its presence felt in the burgeoning synthesis it is creating depends of course upon the leadership it is able to exert, but also upon the firm synthesis of its elements and levels. This is the factor which holds promise for the future. Many people are not confining themselves to one level, but instead work at several simultaneously. Organizationally this is a useful defense against the possibility of alienation between levels, the protest that "they" don't understand "us."

Relations with the Allegheny County Committee followed a somewhat different course. Its director, had attended two meetings of the MYCAC group, during the formalizing and later the synthesizing periods. MYCAC leaders and the university researcher conferred frequently then and later with the County Director, with their conversations culminating in a written agreement in December, 1965. This agreement stipulated that all MYCAC proposals for grants to be funded from Washington would be forwarded through the County Committee. In its turn the County Committee would review the proposals within a ten-day period, either forwarding them to Washington with a favorable recommendation or returning them to MYCAC with suggestions for revision. In the latter event MYCAC retained the option to request consideration of them in the Economic Opportunity Office in Washington, even without the sanction of the County Committee.

In the meantime the County Committee had the forbidding task of creating some measure of unification of all the 128 municipalities of the County outside of Pittsburgh. To make this somewhat more manageable this Committee divided the County into three districts, one of which approximately coincided with the boundaries of Mon-Yough. Each of these districts became the province of one member of the County Committee staff. At this juncture a step which might have been taken to weld a close working relation between MYCAC and the County Committee was not, nor was it seriously considered. The County Committee might have ceded general jurisdiction for the Mon-Yough Region to MYCAC, instead of setting up its separate district office.

Such a move would have required concessions from both organizations. MYCAC would have had to surrender even more of its autonomy than it subsequently granted in the written agreement, while the County Committee would have had to yield at least some of its responsibility for the initiation of requests for programs from MYCAC. On the other hand there were foreseeable gains from such an arrangement since MYCAC, as a creation of Mon-Yough citizens, would be doing for the County organization what that organization would otherwise have to construct the machinery to do for itself. And with a closer relation to the County, MYCAC could have expected that it could more readily coordinate its plans with those developing elsewhere in the County while also securing the benefit of the informal advice—and accruing experience—of the staff members of the County Committee.

The fact that this merger was not achieved seemed for a time to be a critical non-event in MYCAC's history. Its importance was underscored by the actions taken by the County Committee in the spring, 1966, on proposals forwarded to it by MYCAC. The first of these, an application for a conduct and administration grant which would finance the office and staff for a further year, was sent on to Washington after it had been turned back once to MYCAC for some budgetary revisions. (It is this grant which has since been approved.) Two subsequent proposals for specific program grants were transmitted to the County in May and were there judged to be inadequate in one respect or another. This verdict left MYCAC with insufficient time to redraft and resubmit, and at the time made MYCAC's future somewhat doubtful. Its leaders feared that Washington officials, seeing no proposals for concrete programs, might be disinclined to continue to subsidize an organization which had not yet reached the poor.

Had MYCAC been integrated more nearly into the County organization so that the two were joined in effective synthesis, members of *both* groups would probably have been induced to acquire more of an investment than either did in the work that the other was assaying. In specific terms the County Committee would have begun to identify MYCAC's success with its own, and vice versa. Its leaders would have been no more inclined than MYCAC's to permit a situation to develop in which they would feel compelled to interpose a veto at the possible expense of the demise of MYCAC. In practice it probably would have assigned one of its county staff to work closely with MYCAC's program drafters, so that the County would have been constantly advised about forthcoming MYCAC actions and would have been in a position to be relatively certain that no proposals would come before it which it would not be able to approve.

The absence of such synthesis meant that each organization retained its distinctive identity; no one regarded the two as parts of a still larger organization. Organizational circumstances conspired to make it more natural to see the two as competitors, at least as far as the Mon-Yough Region was concerned. Thus when the County Committee reviewed MYCAC's first proposals, it did not see its *own* future at stake as much as it would have if MYCAC had been a more synthesized part of the whole. For MYCAC's part, when it drew its proposals, it did so without knowing whether its plans did or did not mesh with plans which the County organization was preparing independently.

As it happened, one of the proposals which MYCAC submitted in May was virtually a duplicate of a program which the County was designing; thus the County Committee discouraged this proposal from MYCAC.

This distance between MYCAC and the County has not become institutionalized into alienation, however. It is in the process of being overcome through a now-developing synthesis between the two. Each had added to its Board one member from the other's Board. It is altogether possible that this step created an atmosphere within the County organization which made it more likely that MYCAC's proposals would be acted on favorably there. At least the second occurred in the wake of the first.

A critical period such as this can be illuminating for an observer. It becomes clear that the resolution which is sought between "competing" organizations depends very much upon the "practical theory" which the participants themselves use to explain how they came into their predicament. In general two types of such theories are available. One can believe that the personalities and willful behavior of one's "opponents" are at fault, in which case the remedy is to try to gain access to some pathway of influence which will persuade opponents to alter their behavior. A second theory would fix responsibility for the problem upon the *relations* between the disagreeing groups, pointing, for example, to inadequate or non-existent channels of communication as the causative factor.

The use of the first theory and its remedy is very likely to intensify competitive feelings and to encourage personal animosities. When sources of influence are appealed to, the consequence can be a struggle which will be decided in favor of the party best able to mobilize power in its own behalf. Before this point is reached each party may exhaust enough of its scarce resources to injure its chances of realizing its primary mission.

MYCAC and the County Committee, at least for the time being, are operating with the second theory. It remains to be seen whether the step they are jointly taking will prove to be workable, but in principle it promises to establish a closer synthesis. A joint committee, composed of equal numbers of people from the County Board and from MYCAC's Board, and including both directors from the two, will meet periodically to discuss MYCAC's plans. This liaison group will assess MYCAC programs before MYCAC acts upon them officially, with the intention of designing them in such a fashion that their smooth passage through both boards will be assured insofar as this is possible. The fact that members of this synthesizing committee also sit on the respective boards should mean that each MYCAC proposal will have its spokesmen in both places where decisions are taken.

In retrospect what has occurred is that three quasi-independent organizations, the County Committee, MYCAC, and the local community committees, have been woven together through many synthesizing actions so that they now resemble somewhat a modern bureaucracy. If the synthetic process progresses further along the lines it has so far taken, all of these organizations might become bound into a unitary bureaucracy. The consequence of such an eventuality would be to blur the separate identities which each has so far established for itself. Alternatively, synthesis may be arrested short of the point of full bureaucratization, thus preserving the distinctiveness of each, and allowing each to pursue its somewhat different mission. This kind of organizational development is new enough so that a prediction about what will happen is tenuous at best. However, one factor recommends itself as a possible determinant of the future course. If each of the three organizations crystallizes its individual ideology and makes it meaningful to its own members (which is to say that each ideology would be accepted as true and would become itself a motivating force to attract and to hold members), then a rather high degree of synthesis might be compatible with continued organizational separateness.

E. SYNTHESIS AND IDEOLOGY

At several points in this report MYCAC's ideology has been mentioned, in the first instance at the point of defining an aspiration for Mon-Yough. MYCAC came into being primarily because several individuals believed the Mon-Yough valleys to be the locus of economic decay. The very title which they attached to their infant fixes the attention of members and the public upon this Region and its common problems. Even the prosperity of the intervening years since the founders first shaped their plans has not diluted fears about the Region's future (cf. the *Wall Street Journal* article, cited above). For though unemployment is not now a severe problem in the Region, one McKeesport mill was cut back temporarily in late 1965, and at about the same time a steel company announced the closing of its mill in Donora, which lies just outside the Region. Many have doubtless wondered whether Donora will be repeated in Mon-Yough. There is, then, a basis in reality for the negative ideological theme that what no resident wants to happen may happen.

An ideology which is purely negative in the beliefs it fosters is not very likely to motivate anything other than despair. Such an attitude is hardly serviceable for MYCAC. Gradually, however, a positive complement has been evolving which asserts, in simplest terms that the Region as a whole can hope to prosper if its poorer people are rescued from sub-standard social, economic and educational conditions. (The writers are not asserting that this proposition is true, but are only discussing the probable consequences if it is *believed* to be true). Insofar as MYCAC's future is concerned there are two groups whose acceptance of this ideology seems important: the labor unions and the business community.

The USWA, the most prominent union in the Region, has effectively demonstrated its endorsement through its members who are active in MYCAC, and through its initial financial contribution. Business leaders, particularly of the giant corporations in the valleys, are more problematic. Most of them do not live in the Region because the headquarters of these corporations are located elsewhere. Even some whose offices are in the mills and factories have chosen to reside outside the Region. These facts might seem to make them modern-day counterparts of the "absentee owners" of the past, who were known well for their exclusive interest in the profits they could extract from a community.

The MYCAC directors and The Pennsylvania State University researchers have, separately and together, appealed to many of these leaders on the general ideological grounds described above. The results so far are conclusive on one point. These men are not to be compared with absentee owners. They are quick to explain that their corporations are heavily taxed, and that through this channel their businesses are the major subsidizers of municipal activities. In at least one case one company provides more than half of its town's tax revenue.

Aside from this the responses to these appeals have been various. A few businessmen have plainly said they do not believe in the poverty program. Some others have confessed perplexity. On one hand they say that they oppose the "Great Society" on principle; they have always believed that a government should not try to do for its citizens what those citizens are better able, and better advised, to do for themselves. They rather resent that they must pay taxes to support programs which are the antitheses of their personal beliefs. On the other hand they have learned from their experience in the valleys that their business cannot continue to prosper where *community* problems such as inadequate transportation, inefficient school systems and deteriorating housing and retail sections are ignored. They can see that self-interest is intertwined with community interest when prospective employees are deterred by sub-standard schools, or even by the fact that they would have to drive to work along miles of narrow, cobblestone streets, through clusters of urban slums. This experience has not been so compelling that they are ready to throw their weight—and money—into such an organization as MYCAC. But their mood indicates that they know something must be done, and that is beyond the capacities of their corporations to do it by themselves. One in this group has provided office space for MYCAC and another has donated equipment to fill it. Others are pondering whether they should become active participants in MYCAC. Perhaps they are waiting to see how much it can accomplish in its early growth.

If the business community does become visibly synthesized into MYCAC, it will virtually guarantee MYCAC's foreseeable future, for the corporations and USWA are the obvious sources of large sums for MYCAC's ten percent share. Such access to cash would mean that MYCAC and the individual communities would have a wider range of programs from which to choose; they would not be restricted to programs for which they could secure services and facilities "in kind." But such a synthesis would surely encounter other problems before it could be firmly institutionalized. One of the first of these is implied by the question: Can these businessmen and labor leaders work in joint harness toward *community goals* when each has been conditioned to regard the other as his *economic* antagonist? No less important would be the query: How would power and influence be redistributed within MYCAC if these two groups were strongly represented on its Board? One would anticipate that MYCAC's ideology would be placed in some strain under these circumstances. It is the essence of an ideology that it justifies a collective goal by asserting that collective success means enhancement of the perceived self-interest of an organization's subgroups and members. If this were simply accepted on its face there might be little strain. However, ideologies are subject to change, and powerful groups on MYCAC's board would be able to revise MYCAC's goals and ideologies *toward* their interests should they see any difference between the two. The fact that they would hold the purse might induce others to acquiesce, perhaps without even realizing that any change was occurring.

These are merely possibilities; they may never come to pass. But whatever does take place as MYCAC moves on into its future should be explicable on an analysis of the interaction between the course of its synthesizing processes, and the elaboration of its ideology. It is this interaction which makes MYCAC a laboratory of continuing interest to the student of community organization.

3

THE OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE MON-YOUGH COMMUNITY ACTION COMMITTEE

A. GOALS FOR COMMUNITY ACTION

Like many another community action organization, MYCAC began its existence with general objectives which had already been laid down for it in the Economic Opportunity Act. While the statute provided guidelines, it was left to MYCAC to interpret these in the light of the particular history and present needs of the region for which it had assumed responsibility. Moreover, MYCAC itself had a history, even though it had no official predecessor. Many of the people who became its members had been working together and separately on a variety of tasks which were pertinent to MYCAC, and they saw MYCAC as a natural vehicle for continuing, and broadening, work which they had already been doing. In consequence the initial goals of the new organization necessarily reflected and were shaped by the several goals of the membership. In general terms these can be phrased as follows:

1. To ascertain the needs of the poor of the Region and to devise regularized means for meeting these needs.
2. To identify different groups among the poor for which it may be necessary to develop different programs.
3. To coordinate activities of existing organizations which seek to serve the poor.
4. To engage in compensatory activities which would supplement work undertaken by other organizations which have been unable to do this work adequately.
5. To provide employment for some of the poor in positions which will be created when programs are authorized.

It is noteworthy that these goals were not established by any official process of discussion and collective decision within MYCAC. While it is commonly supposed that every organization commences its life by deliberating the question of what its goals should be, thereby creating for itself a charter containing a permanent statement of its mission, the

MYCAC membership attended to this task only in very general terms. Article II of their by-laws announces that:

> "The purposes for which the Corporation is formed are: To assist communities in the Monongahela-Youghiogheny River Valley area in availing themselves of the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, in general dealing with problems of the underprivileged, disadvantaged, unemployed, and undereducated people residing in this area, and in carrying out program appropriate thereto."

It may very well have been functional for MYCAC to bypass a more precise and detailed statement of its mission. The nucleus which founded it in 1965 could not then have foreseen all the opportunities—and the constraints—which its environment would present to it during its first years. An overly narrow description of its aims might have meant the foreclosure of possibilities which otherwise would have been attractive to it. In particular, it might have become known to the residents of the area as a limited purpose organization, specializing in but one or a few of the various approaches which can be taken to attack the problem of poverty. Instead, as the sign on its building in McKeesport now proclaims: The Mon-Yough Community Action Committee, Inc. (provides a) "Gateway to Opportunity." In consequence of this general slogan and the rather unrestricted image which it implies for MYCAC, many curious people with a great range of problems have walked in from the street to discover what it is that MYCAC can do. Through these inquiries the staff has become more acquainted with some of the quite individualized needs of its neighbors and has decided to assign one person to the work of counseling people who bring their problems to its office.

In the absence of any open discussion in meetings of the Board of Directors concerning the more particular goals which MYCAC should pursue in order to carry out its mission, there is room to ask whether the organization really does have such goals, whether it is not perhaps directionless. Such a supposition is false. MYCAC presents another instance of a familiar phenomenon in formal organizations, that of the achievement of substantial consensus on large questions through informal means. In addition, the fact that several members had previously worked together in planning MYCAC meant that a foundation of agreement had already been established. As a result questions which were formally brought before the Board, concerning the proposals for serving the poor which MYCAC would sponsor, rarely elicited argument or even mild opposition. Because the staff had sounded out most of the members before each proposal was submitted, its plans were usually ratified quickly. The superficial impression of "goallessness" then, is deceiving. It ignores the extensive conversations which continually take place behind the scene, and indeed constitute a major portion of the daily round of work of staff members. Through these manifold informal channels the staff is able to uncover negative sentiment before its plans become hardened into programs, and to secure essential agreement through either persuasion or compromise before the time at which it needs formal approval to proceed.

The five goals in the above list, then, have not been copied from any document, but have been inferred from observation of MYCAC's early activities, as well as from many statements which members have made informally, (in which the speaker would normally take it for granted that one or another of the items in the list was a proper object for organizational concern). The first goal, for example, was activated in the first month of MYCAC's existence when one staff member was assigned to interview residents of poorer sections on their doorsteps. So natural did this move seem that it required little discussion (with the exception of technical consultation to construct the interview schedule). With respect to the second goal there has been no attempt in Board meetings to name the groups which will be the principal beneficiaries of MYCAC's work, beyond what had already been stipulated in the bylaws. Nevertheless inspection of proposed programs makes plain that some groups have been identified, and they include (in no particular order of priority) older people, especially those who have retired; youth, especially of the late adolescent years; high school drop-outs whose lack of education has placed a job ceiling on their careers; workers in prime working age who face displacement; the social disadvantaged, most notably Negroes; and the physically handicapped.

MYCAC's brief history already attests to the proposition that the real goals of an organization are more a product of that organization's environment than they are of the rational calculations of the membership. Since such calculations (whether reached openly or, as in MYCAC's case, through original silent consensus) are ordinarily premised upon perceptions of the environment, it follows that goals can best be understood when they are seen against their environmental setting. It is in order, then, to review some of the salient features of MYCAC's setting, including its recent history.

Though the Economic Opportunity Act has become distinctively identified as *the* agent for the prosecution of the "war on poverty," many of the local activities which the Act sponsors are not new to the American scene. In practice many of them turn out to be extensions of work which had been going on for some time. The difference between a city such as Pittsburgh and a Region like Mon-Yough lies in the fact that services to the poor, through both private and public organizations, are much further developed in a densely populated city than they are in a more sparsely populated region. In the former the poor are more numerous, more segregated, and more visible to political leaders who thus become sensitized to them because of their potential political influence, if for no other reason.

While this clustering of the poor occurs also in Mon-Yough, particularly in its larger cities, it is not so pronounced and the clusters are not so large as to present an image of political power. It is thus not surprising that the scattered poor in Mon-Yough have been relatively deprived of community services in the past. Leaderless, they have lacked a channel through which they could apply the pressure which would make their manifold needs known; they have not constituted a political force.

It would be false to assert that agencies which serve the poor are altogether absent in Mon-Yough. The list is actually rather lengthy, as the following partial inventory shows. In addition to the Bureau of Employment Security and the Department of Public Assistance, which have regional offices in McKeesport, the Red Cross, the YMCA and YWCA, the Salvation Army, Visiting Nurse Association, Family and Children's Service, the Lions Club, Planned Parenthood Association, the United Cerebral Palsy Association and the Mon-Yough Adult Retarded Center are all present. What is conspicuously absent, however, is an institution which is "total" in the sense that it endeavors to concern itself with the individual not as a "client" or "patient" but as a whole person. MYCAC's response to this patent need for a "total" institution is a proposal which would establish nine community centers in Mon-Yough. The specific plans for these are reviewed in the third section of this chapter, which contains a discussion of the several ways in which MYCAC is already an innovative force in the region. The following section looks at MYCAC as an organization which supplements the work of existing institutions.

B. MYCAC ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS

Perhaps one reason why MYCAC has been able to settle into its corner of Allegheny County without arousing local opposition lies in the fact that it simultaneously looks backward to the past and forward to the future. Its perspective includes the past in the sense that its staff has taken stock of previously available services to the poor, with the result that some of its work augments these services, compensating for the fact that they have been less adequate than those normally found

RECORD OF TRAINING PROGRAMS IN MON-YOUGH

PROGRAMS: *Completed*
OFFICE: *McKeesport*

Name of Course	Weeks of Training	Starting Date	Completion Date	Trainees Referred	Trainees Completed	WORKING Rel.	WORKING N/Rel.	Not Working
School Bus Driver	12	7- 1-63	9-24-63	15	11	1	6	4
Electronics Mechanic	50	9- 5-62	8-30-63	28	16	7	0	1
Electronics Mechanic	50	1- 7-63	1-10-64	27	18	8	0	0
Office Machine Serviceman	34	8- 6-63	4-18-64	27	12	3	5	4
Mgr. Dept. Ret. Trade	50	7- 1-63	7- 3-64	41	12	1	7	4
Draftsman, Detailer	50	7- 1-63	7- 3-64	25	17	6	7	4
Mach. Opr. General	50	7- 1-63	7- 3-64	25	16	7	9	10
Fitter—Layerout	39	9- 9-64	6-12-64	25	14	0	12	2
Academic—Mon-Yough	50	6-24-63	6-12-64	108	48	5	30	1
Cabinet Maker PA-J-8	50	10-14-63	10-23-64	14	12	12	0	0
Upholsterer	50	2-24-64	2-19-65	23	12	9	0	0
Clerk-Typist Male	20	9-28-64	2-25-65	34	20	9	1	0
Auto Body Repairman	38	10- 5-64	6-30-65	31	13	8	2	4
Auto Body Repairman	40	8-31-64	5-28-65	25	15	8	2	5
Auto Mechanic	39	8-17-64	5-19-65	31	14	9	0	5
Office Machine Serviceman	36	10-26-64	7-19-65	25	29	0	8	8
Woodworking Mach. Op.	25	12- 1-64	5-21-65	25	25	25	0	0
House Repairman	50	8- 3-64	7-30-65	19	7	2	0	0
Auto Mechanic	50	8- 6-64	8-13-65	25	12	5	0	0
Auto Mechanic	50	8-17-64	8-13-65	28	9	4	0	0
Diesel Mechanic	50	11- 2-64	11-29-65	117	41	7	0	0
Clerk Typist—Male	20	7-12-65	12- 3-65	34	13	5	6	0
Mach. Opr. General	38	1- 4-65	9-24-65	73	17	7	9	0
Upholsterer II	50	5-10-65	5- 9-66	24	11	0	0	0
Clerk Stenographer (Ref.)	31	4-14-65	4-14-66	35	19	5	0	0

RECORD OF TRAINING PROGRAMS IN MON-YOUGH (Continued)

PROGRAMS: *On-Going and Just-Completed*

OFFICE: *McKeesport*

Name of Course	Weeks of Training	Starting Date	Completion Date	Trainees Referred	Trainees Completed	WORKING Rel.	WORKING N/Rel.	Not Working
Machine Opr. General	40	10-11-65	7-18-66	32	9	9	0	0
Auto Body Rep. Metal	40	9-12-65	6- 8-66	21	10	1	0	9
Auto Mechanic Entry	39	9-27-65	6-25-66	26	11	2	2	7
Draftsman, Detailer	41	3- 7-66	12-16-66	26				
Diesel Mechanic	50	2-28-66	2-24-67	53				
Cabinetmaker (Entry)	25	4-25-66	10-21-66	25				
Mixer (Powder Metal)	13	3-21-66	6-17-66	1				
Presser (Powder Metal)	13	3-21-66	6-17-66	1	1	1	0	0
Furnace Operator	13	3-21-66	6-17-66	1	1	1	0	0
Punch Press Operator	13	3-21-66	6-17-66	1	1	1	0	0
Finish Operator	17	3-21-66	7-15-66	1	1	1	0	0
Inspector	17	3-21-66	7-15-66	1	1	1	0	0
Airplane Mechanic (Air Trans. Aircraft Mfg.)	58	5- 6-66	6-17-67	1				
Barber (Per. Ser.)	38	5- 2-66	1-20-67	1				

Data supplied by McKeesport Employment Office of the Bureau of Employment Security, July 28, 1966 in a metropolitan center. These are the principal ways in which MYCAC is carrying out its supplementary function:

1. Through most of the mobilizing and formalizing phases, two of the founders (the present president and a researcher on the staff of the Institute for Research on Human Resources at The Pennsylvania State University) actively assisted the local employment office in preparing proposals for training programs which were subsequently funded according to provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act. As the accompanying table shows, there have been, or are in being, 39 vocational programs with a respectable record of completions. Particularly during the past year it is clear that trainees have been able to find employment, though not always in the specialty for which they were trained. MYCAC staff have continued to benefit from this close working relation with the Bureau of Employment Security. It is the opinion of the Bureau's director that MYCAC can assist the work of his office materially by improving the level of *general* education of the unemployed in Mon-Yough. A persistent source of frustration for the Bureau is the job-seeker whose command of written and spoken English is so limited that he can really qualify only for routine jobs which require mainly physical strength and endurance (the very jobs which are prime candidates for elimination by machines).
2. MYCAC itself shares this interest in the upgrading of educational level. Early in the mobilizing period the eventual founders of MYCAC had made a head-on attack upon this problem by initiating an evening school to give adult drop-outs a second chance to finish their high school education. MDTA seemed to them to be an appropriate vehicle through which this might be funded, so they prepared an application for this purpose. To the advice given by Washington officials that "general education did not constitute preparation for a specific occupation and therefore was excluded by the Act," the Mon-Yough people asserted that vocational training *without* the cultivation of basic skills meant that those with little education would either be ineligible for training or would be unable to profit maximally from it. Apparently they argued well. MDTA administrators initially approved the plan under the guise of a "research and demonstration program" which was permitted under the Act. In the end this decision was partially reversed and the monies for research were never appropriated, though the students were enrolled and most completed the course, which was concluded with a graduation ceremony. According to the account

of the sponsors, this program scored visible human successes. It revived dormant capacities for getting and using knowledge and created in many students (over a great range of ages) an interest and a hope which was gratifying to everyone.

Since 1963 these same sponsors have sought to establish adult education in Mon-Yough on a permanent footing. These efforts are continuing now as the MYCAC staff searches for a way to incorporate such general schooling in an acceptable community action proposal.

It is pertinent to note that a separate experiment, conducted in McKeesport by the Institute for Research on Human Resources, is presently studying the effects of an experimental program in both academic and vocational curricula upon high school dropouts. These students are receiving just the education which MYCAC would like to make available to all who need it. While this experiment is necessarily limited in the number of students it can train, it has the incidental effect of keeping alive the hope that something equivalent to it can be a permanent institution, an extension of the local public school systems which these systems have not been able to afford for themselves.

3. The MYCAC founders were also instrumental in communicating to various communities the OEO plans for Headstart programs in the summer of 1965. Since these plans were not announced until the spring of that year, and because of the novelty of the notion that a four-year-old child from a poor family might "go to school during the summer," it was vital for someone who was familiar with the purpose of the program, and the mechanics of asking and getting approval, to give personal advice to community leaders in order to induce them to act quickly. The University researcher did this. The MYCAC staff now is not directly involved with the Headstart program because the Allegheny County Committee has begun a more comprehensive program in Early Childhood Development which supersedes Headstart. Though MYCAC carries no responsibility for this program either, it has established a working relationship with the County supervisor for its Region so that it can make referrals to this program.

4. One of the steps taken by the MYCAC director early in the synthesizing stage was to communicate with ministers, priests and rabbis by letter, informing them of the presence of a new organization and inviting discussions looking toward coordination of efforts. Responses to the letter were sparse, though several indicated interest. Later in personal conversations with many clergy-

men the Director learned that there was more than a little interest within this group to engage in collective programs aimed at the poor. What was conspicuously lacking was a leader with sufficient time to devote to organizing and motivating this group. The Director himself hopes to turn to this problem as soon as his first programs are under way.

5. Though, as already indicated, some social agencies are active in Mon-Yough, many are not represented at all. The following, which maintain facilities in Pittsburgh, must proceed on the premise that residents of Mon-Yough will come to the central city to make use of their services: The Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, the Pennsylvania Association for the Blind, Child Welfare of Allegheny County, Allegheny County Adult Welfare Service, Legal Aid Society, the Pittsburgh Child Guidance Center, the Pittsburgh Hearing Society and the Veterans Administration. The heads of some of these groups recognize that it is difficult for some of their clients to make even this relatively short trip (12 miles) frequently, but lack the resources to open branch offices closer to their users. The MYCAC staff has moved to improve this situation by offering gratis its presently vacant offices (three or four) to any agency which is willing to fill it with a professional person who can provide direct service. So far the Association for the Blind has accepted this invitation and has promised to assign a staff member to Mon-Yough within the next month.

6. In one further area MYCAC has moved, at least temporarily, to augment available services. Originally the organization had no intention of becoming itself an employment agency, but it has become so on a small scale as a by-product of its informal organizing activities. In this instance the Director had approached many business leaders in the large corporations which have plants in the Region, inviting them to participate in and to contribute to MYCAC. In the course of these conversations the director came to know several personnel managers, a few of whom began to inquire whether MYCAC might have names of people seeking industrial employment. When given an affirmative answer, the managers immediately supplied specifications for their vacancies, the Director placed a sign in his office window announcing these vacancies, and a small stream of men soon began coming into the office to get more information. Those with the requisite qualifications were referred to employers, and for a period at least MYCAC was placing one or two persons a day in jobs.

   It is probable that the present state of high employment, created by the heavy demand for steel both from other companies and from defense plants, has made it possible for MYCAC to become a matchmaker of men and jobs. Indeed the Director has already begun to wonder how MYCAC's reputation will be affected when (or if) the current prosperity slackens and jobs become scarcer while job-seekers become more numerous. He is naturally anxious that MYCAC should not create the firm expectation that it can satisfy the needs of the unemployed. He has even sought to transfer the "credit" for his placements to the local employment office, but has discovered that bureaucratic procedures prevent this. (As it happens MYCAC has not been filling jobs which the McKeesport Employment Office had not been able to fill; these jobs had previously been listed in the Pittsburgh office, and had not been transmitted to the McKeesport office.) Still this is undeniably an added service both to employers and prospective employees, and in a time of relatively plentiful jobs it seems very functional to open an "adjunct" employment office.

It is also plain that in assisting these employers, MYCAC is doing a favor which will not be detrimental to its chances to secure future favors from these business firms.

This resume of six ways in which MYCAC is compensating for the fact that services already available are not extensive enough to meet the demand for them has necessarily included some activities which have no precedents in the Region. While it is difficult to draw a consistent line between what is old but inadequate, and what is altogether new, the following paragraphs will summarize the on-going and planned work which is relatively innovative in Mon-Yough. The reason for separating the discussion into these two parts is to underscore the degree to which Mon-Yough (and no doubt many other similar "non-urban, non-rural" areas) lags behind the urban frontier in bringing to its citizens opportunities which are already institutionalized in large cities. Even many, perhaps most, of the projects in the following list are new only to Mon-Yough but not to many other places.

C. MYCAC ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE INNOVATIVE IN MON-YOUGH

1. To the MYCAC staff the most far-reaching of its new endeavors is the multi-functional community center which was discussed briefly above.

It first of all supplies elbow room — play space for children and quarters for meeting. Secondly, it can be the locus for whatever specialized counseling services may be lacking in an area, such as employment, education, legal and the like. Perhaps most important, however, it serves the incidental purpose of creating *primary* relationships between users of the center and members of its staff.[*] Where primary relations are firmly instituted, the people involved in them incur personal obligations which transcend the conventional deferences which strangers accord to each other. They know each other intimately, their problems are not privatized but shared, and an ethic of mutual aid evolves which makes it a matter of *self*-interest to try to further the interests of those with whom one has primary ties. It is immaterial to note that this does not always occur in community centers. Here as elsewhere bureaucracy can intervene to separate "staff" from "clients" so that the former become "leaders of games" and "enforcers of rules" while the latter are seen as "members of groups" or worse, "potential troublemakers." The point is that the modern community center, almost alone, is *the* institutionalized location where poor people are not supposed to be dealt with in stereotypical terms, or as "members of categories." Rather, the community center is the place where leaders have presumably been trained to meet the poor as individual, unique persons. It is also the place where one can find people who are at home in the larger society and who therefore "have contacts," that is, are closely acquainted with a complex power structure and know how to use it, or at least have access to it. In this ideal version the community center is not simply a "center for a community," it is a community within itself, held tightly together through a web of primary relations among members, and between members and staff.

A center such as this is a familiar landmark in metropolitan America, standing as a reminder of a long-standing tradition which commenced with the settlement house of the 19th century. It is almost unknown in Mon-Yough. Of course some churches and some voluntary associations maintain programs which in some respects resemble the community center, but these are usually maintained for their members, and are not focused upon the amelioration of the special deprivations of the poor. Thus while the community center may seem to be almost a new invention to people in Mon-Yough who are living on the economic margin, in fact the nine anticipated centers would only bring to these people what their counterparts in urban slums have come to take almost for granted.

In framing its request for funds to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, MYCAC described its plan as follows:

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[*] "Primary relationship" is here used in the socialogical sense to distinguish it from secondary relationships which are impersonal and involve only a limited part of one's personality.

"Traditionally, most large metropolitan areas have provided for their needy by utilizing the Settlement House, the Community Center or the State, Federal or private agency designated to provide Health and Welfare services.

"However, in the Mon-Yough River Valley these facilities in no way or form exist. A co-ordinated effort such as projected here, of nine centers operating in co-ordination with the support and cooperation of a C.A.A. central operation will constitute an opportunity network through which the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee, Inc., can channel existing resources into better relationships with the outlying poverty pockets of the area, can recognize and define unmet human needs and reasons for them, and can effectively help deprived neighborhoods plan and execute improved and new programs for self development.

"There will be a totality of co-ordination among the nine centers and the total additional projects being worked on for future funding, i.e., Handicapped Opportunity Center, Basic Adult Education, Work Experience for Teenagers, etc.

"In our River Valley social interaction is extremely limited and voluntary collective efforts are a rarity. Physical and psychological disorders are common and services are inadequate to the demand. Existing social service agencies are providing services; however, there is a long span of time when no adequate emergency service is available. Churches, the Department of Public Assistance, the Employment Service and a few local organizations provide the resources that must provide for an area population as large as the Metropolitan City.

"If we look at poverty *per se* we see it as a condition of unmet needs with its roots set in a network of social ills that include racial discrimination, inadequate education, poor health and sub-standard housing. Sickness, frustration, low employment, lack of proper diet, children living with no parents and no real identification of parents, poor housing and lack of decent clothing all constitute forms of deprivation that are transmitted to subsequent generations continuing the cycle of poverty.

"To shatter these feelings of inadequacy, hopelessness, low self image, acceptance of failure, and create a feeling of worth, of dignity, of decency, must grow not only with an adequate income and better living conditions, but by the motivation of being accepted of being a part of, of meeting other men on equal terms.

"The concept of the Community Centers pre-suppose its establishment in a populated, deprived, ghetto section of an urban metropolis. Around this nucleus of programs, activities and operation live the clients for which it was designed to help. The remainder of the communities lie beyond the fringe area and only reaches in to help and then withdraws, leaving the area to work out problems and set standards which are often oriented to the ability of the deprived individual, thus movement is very slow, support erratic and achievement very minimal.

"Because of geographic area, population and the location of the poor of the Mon-Yough area, the Community Center must take on a different role and within its operation lies the true means of projecting the deprived person with help, support and training into the mainstream of community life, so he becomes an integral part of an interaction that can only benefit him and strip away his poverty identification.

"In our area we have the hidden poor, for no agencies really identify him, no group, private or public acts to help him or to meet his needs. Existence takes place at a very low level in a hidden apartment, in a river patch of dilapidated houses, or in an unworked farm or cluster of homes. How to reach, train, integrate, employ and involve this person with his neighbor then becomes the role of the Community Center. In this particular situation, the Center through its local CAP groups, its local coordination and its program must provide the help, the security, the support that normally a friend, or a family relation provides in an emergency. Employment, direction, support, training, status, trust, security, a knowledge of being a part and finally a chance to participate and help oneself and one's peers then becomes the operational function of all Centers.

"The Centers will be situated in strategic areas and will cover the entire area. These are: Elizabeth Boro Center (serving Elizabeth Boro, Elizabeth Township, Forward Township, Lincoln Boro and West Elizabeth), Port Vue Center (serving Port Vue, fringe areas of McKeesport and fringers of Lincoln and Liberty Boro), Dravosburg Center, Glassport Center, McKeesport Center (serving to public housing areas Harrison and Crawford Village), Pitcairn Center, Wall Center and Crestas Terrace Center.

"The immediate beneficiaries of this proposal will be the 99 low income persons who will be trained and employed to operate the neighborhood centers and those community action programs ready for activation and the 1200 low income residents of the area already affiliated with the local neighborhood organizations. The total beneficiary group will eventually consist of all the low income, culturally deprived, under educated, medically unserved, poorly housed, vocationally inadequate, and socially alienated residents of the Mon-Yough area.

"The immediate purpose of this proposal is to establish a neighborhood center in each of the Mon-Yough nine poverty target areas and to provide such additional Mon-Yough Community Action Committee headquarters staff as is necessary to insure continued neighborhood organization, local leadership development, resident participation in planning, and the establishment of effective self-help community action programs at the top level.

"It is anticipated that these neighborhood centers, by providing accessible local community action operations sites, will reinforce existing resident community action efforts as well as bring about an expansion of these existing efforts to include those other low income area residents not yet involved.

"It is important to note that the nine projected centers not only provide the basis for this proposal, but are the articulated preferences and decisions of nine established neighborhood organizations properly representative of those to be served. Operations sites have been selected by those most qualified to determine accessibility, and program specifics are the result of low-income resident determination of priority needs. Eight of the local organizations are in the process of qualifying for Allegheny County CAA recognition; the ninth (Elizabeth Borough) has already received this.

"It is again important to note: the 99 low income non-professional residents projected for training and employment by this project will be recruited and selected by the local neighborhood organizations, will receive all basic training and orientation based on the philosophy and methodology of Frank Riessman-Arthur Pearl *(New Careers for the Poor)* and the on-the-job experiences will be so phased as to ensure progressive human service skills development. The curriculum used will constitute a core training program around which more specialized program and human service skills can be gradually developed to meet the individual program needs of each neighborhood center as it reaches the readiness level of community action programming."

2. It may be noted that the list of organizations without offices in Mon-Yough includes several which specialize in treating the various handicaps which humans inherit or acquire, and which interfere with normal functioning. To confront and extend this range of problems head-on, MYCAC has chosen for its second program the opening of a Pre-Vocational Opportunity Center for the Handicapped. Though this program has not yet received approval from OEO, both it and the proposal for Community Centers have been endorsed by the Allegheny County Committee and are presently being reviewed in Washington. This opportunity center would carry Mon-Yough services in its field

from very modest beginnings to a rather complete array of special programs, designed to supply the handicapped person with most of the resources which technology and human ingenuity can impart to him. At the present time there is a Mon-Yough Employ the Handicapped Committee, and a Mon-Yough Adult Retarded Center, but both are underfinanced and understaffed. Again it is appropriate to quote from the MYCAC proposal to convey both the substance and the tenor of their purpose:

> "The handicapped person like the lepers of olden days are rejected, isolated and subjected to a stigma that could easily be eliminated under proper conditions. Resistance to association or employment is not due to their lack of education, lack of knowledge, lack of enthusiasm or lack of physical or mental ability to perform certain tasks. The resistance is simply because the person is handicapped and society has not been educated to the untapped reservoir of skills and resourcefulness that is lying dormant. Thus the handicapped person is denied the opportunity to become a self-sustaining citizen who can take his place in a family and in community life in their efforts to associate, socialize, obtain employment and become a part of, frequently this causes a handicapped person to lose all confidence in themselves and their community. Often this causes them to withdraw and this in itself causes a type of handicap and an additional problem.
>
> "The area served by the Mon-Yough Employ the Handicapped Committee is particularly hard with such resistance on the part of the employer. Jobs in this area are predominantly in heavy industry. Such employers usually reject handicapped applicants because "they build up seniority and may bid in a job on which they would be a hazard to themselves and others." The resistance of the employers in this area to hiring handicapped applicants is apparent from the fact that, during the year 1964, the McKeesport Office of the Bureau of Employment Security succeeded in placing 42% of their total new applicants in jobs. In this same period this same office succeeded in placing only 25% of the new handicapped applicants. Many additional non-handicapped applicants were recalled to their old jobs or they found jobs on their own. This is generally not true with the handicapped applicant. They represent the hard core of unemployed persons, whose only or main drawback is that they have a disability, even though this disability does not interfere with their performance of the job they seek.
>
> "At the end of 1964 there were 395 handicapped persons with active applications in the files of the State Employment Service in McKeesport. There is an additional 350 to 400 handicapped persons

in this area who are being rehabilitated in mind or body by the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation. They will soon be entering the labor market. When we consider the other handicapped persons, who for one reason or another, are not registered with either of these bureaus, we would conservatively estimate that there are over 1000 handicapped persons in this area that want employment and are entitled to jobs and need help.

"The solution for this dilemma then exists in the establishment of a center to provide opportunities for education, training and socialization for all area handicapped. Not only will the handicapped person hopefully develop, but the public in general and business in particular will develop a new approach or outlook concerning this neglected part of our community.

"It is intended that this proposal to establish and operate a Mon-Yough based Pre-Vocational Opportunity Center for comprehensive self-help therapeutic and job placement opportunities will constitute a mechanism through which personalized data concerning the disabled residents of the area and their situation can be collected, collated, and evaluated for improvement of existing services and the initiation of new programs for maximum care, treatment, and prevention of disabling conditions in the low-income population. It is also expected that this Community Action Program, by mobilizing and involving voluntary agencies, private agencies, public agencies, and members of the local community, will constitute a vehicle for the development of a local consensus for the future planning and execution of an effective local system of co-ordinated services to improve the living and vocational status of the area's disabled residents.

"These categories of low-income disabled persons will benefit directly from this program. The primary target will be those low-income disabled persons presently not receiving service and/or rejected for service by existing rehabilitation agencies. The County Board of Assistance Permanently Disabled category, Blind pension recipients, Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation ineligibles, State Office for the Blind ineligibles, Old Age pension recipients, the inactive caseload lists of private agencies, secondary public school educable and trainable students about to be released or already at large in the community, and any other low-income subnormally functioning persons who can be reached via private and public institutions, individual medical practitioners, church groups, service clubs, etc., will be sought out for participation. Mass media and word of mouth techniques will be specifically adapted for this purpose.

"The secondary target group of beneficiaries will consist of those disabled persons presently active on the caseloads of existing rehabilitation and employment agencies, but for whom employment has not yet been found. The Bureau of Employment Security Office, the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, the State Office for the Blind, institutions with disabled patients ready for release, and private agencies will be the recruitment sources for this group. They will be provided with self-help vocational training and work experience opportunities for employment in existing job vacancies and will also be encouraged to prepare for new entry career positions in the Center as sub-professional rehabilitation aides and special human service technicians. The Center based work experience will be progressive and will include continual educational and training opportunities for upgrading of skills and career development in human service occupations from sub-professional to para-professional to professional status when possible. It is estimated that in the Mon-Yough area according to BES figures 2/22/66, 410 persons are available for recruitment. The third group will consist of individuals currently on the roles of agencies (Cerebral Palsy, Multiple Sclerosis, Blind) who need a socialization, recreation experience outside of the home. This would constitute the development of a scheduled type of programming co-ordinated with existing rehabilitation staff of existing agencies who will be encouraged to refer to the Center those disabled persons not considered ready to benefit from traditional rehabilitation procedures but for whom the Center might provide pre-rehabilitative support and therapy."

The philosophy that underlies this plan is substantially similar to that which undergirds the proposed Community Center: By centralizing an array of services in one location, it becomes possible for a staff to concern itself with all facets of an individual's person, to treat the individual as a total human being.

3. In addition to the counseling which MYCAC staff will offer to people who are referred to its office, it will also maintain an information and referral center. There is no single, widely-known place in Mon-Yough where someone can take a problem with the assurance that he will be told what agency has been designed to supply the service he needs. This will be remedied as MYCAC gradually becomes visible as a source of comprehensive information regarding all welfare services, public and private.

4. Aside from the efforts of school teachers and administrators, there is no single-minded institution which attempts to identify potential high school drop-outs and to intervene with means to discourage the potential from becoming a reality. Because such students are ordinarily from low-income families, and because their early departure from school tends to breed into them an expectation of low-income for them-

selves, thus perpetuating poverty from generation to generation, MYCAC has decided to ask for funds to keep this group in school as long as possible.

It did submit a proposal entitled "Project 44," which would create part-time jobs for such students which they perform out of school hours. This economic inducement together with particularized counseling, they felt, would prevent many young people from making a decision they would probably regret later but would then be unable to undo. As it happened, this proposal was returned to MYCAC by the Allegheny County Committee on the ground that that Committee was planning a somewhat similar program and could not approve another which would duplicate its own in the same region. The MYCAC staff is now redesigning its program to make it entirely distinct and separate, while still addressing it to the same problem.

5. The McKeesport Recreation Department has, within the limits of its budget, administered programs of organized play for children in its two densely populated public housing projects. (These programs have already been supplemented by the leadership given by one MYCAC staff member and by several volunteers, who are organizing programs in these housing projects during hours of the day when the City program is not in operation.)

What is novel in MYCAC's approach to this problem is its request to have several VISTA workers assigned to the housing projects. VISTA itself is very little known in Mon-Yough; it has no workers in the region. Rather than viewing their job as a way to get sustenance, VISTA people have to be dedicated; they are secular missionaries. They are usually college students, or recent graduates, whose capacities command much more in the labor market than the small remuneration they receive. To the youth of these housing projects they would bring a spirit and a zeal which would almost certainly implant or reinforce ideals which do not readily thrive by themselves in such settings. This is a case where MYCAC would have no continuing responsibility for the VISTA workers, who would instead be responsible to the VISTA organization itself. MYCAC's role is that of the initiator. It has defined the problem and has made an official request for workers to VISTA headquarters.

6. Community Action programs themselves are entirely new to Mon-Yough, whether in the form of OEO sponsored organizations or spontaneously formed groups. In the past, with the exception of a few special purpose campaigns, Mon-Yough residents have had to look to "city hall" for action when they have been beset by problems requiring collective, cooperative action. Even when municipal officials have been sympathetic, they have often been restricted in what they can legally and feasibly do.

Both the founders and the present MYCAC staff have worked persistently to urge and persuade the individual municipalities to form their own community action committees. In some cases they have succeeded (namely, in those where MYCAC hopes that Community Centers will soon be sprouting), while in others the apathy is still too great and local leadership has not yet emerged. It is the confident expectation of the Director that when community centers suddenly appear in nine localities, people in the remaining towns and boroughs will appreciate what their inaction has cost them and will want the same for their own. Having learned how to prepare the application for such a Center, MYCAC is ready to send through supplemental requests for more Centers as rapidly as local communities can organize themselves and appeal to MYCAC.

7. MYCAC's final plan is more a diffuse hope than a crystalized program, for it looks to the massive problem of the declining economy, the very problem which led the early sponsors to single out Mon-Yough as a Region demanding concentrated effort. Of course it is beyond MYCAC's capacity to revive the present economic base or to attempt to replace it with another, but it is not beyond its capability to persevere in the task of prodding others who can do something about this to work away at it. Especially it can become an active agent in the matter of searching for solutions to some of the more immediate manifestations of this long-term process of economic diminishment.

One of these manifestations is already clear. It is occasioned by the fact that steelworkers who are laid off when plants are cut back or shut down naturally turn to the labor market for new employment, but they are not relatively attractive employees. Any potential employer of them cannot usually offer them new jobs which are at the same level of skill and pay as their former ones. Thus they know very well that as soon as mills reopen, their steelworker-turned-employee will return to steelworking; he does not wish to jepardize his seniority. Futhermore when there is a sharp reduction in the work force of a mill, the repercussions are immediately felt in the local shops and stores; non-mill jobs become less plentiful. There is true irony in this dilemma. MDTA was partly inspired by men who envisioned the steady replacement of men by machines, especially in the steel industry. The bill was sponsored in the House of Representatives by the Representative from Mon-Yough, himself a former steelworker. It is an altogether appropriate Act for someone who is permanently deprived of his former occupation for it retrains him for an entirely new career.

But it gives little help to the steelworker who suffers not (or believes he suffers not) from permanent unemployment in his original line, but rather from "stuttering unemployment." Experience has told him that it is probably just a matter of time until he is called back, and he pins his hopes and expectations upon this eventuality. In the meantime he will "make do," but he does not see an MDTA program as being an answer to his problem. The disease of "stuttering unemployment" is apparently endemic to a Region with Mon-Yough's economic characteristics, and may become epidemic if the pessimistic prophets are proved correct.

MYCAC's approach to this is to join the Institute for Research on Human Resources in a research venture. Leaders of some of the steel and other companies in the area have been asked whether they would permit a study of the problem of the potential displacement of workers, under the condition that the layoffs would be made known well in advance of the fact, and the affected workers would also be identified. From this point the task will be one of collectively searching for appropriate work for these workers, and of preparing them psychologically for either a permanent or temporary change. The problem has been so little-studied that the most effective research approach to it has not yet been decided. But MYCAC is lending its support to this pioneering endeavor since all parties—business, labor, and university researchers—agree that the effort of finding an acceptable solution is justified; the absence of a satisfactory solution is deleterious to all.

D. MYCAC IN PERSPECTIVE

1. The Environment

The Mon-Yough Region differs markedly from the rest of Allegheny County in several respects which are pertinent to the movers and shakers in community action programs.

Dominating all other facts is the heavily industrial character of the two river valleys and the nearby municipalities. Dependence upon steel means that changes in this industry have immediate impact upon the families of the region. It is hardly surprising, then, that the decreasing ratio of men to machines in this industry through the decade of the '50's was accompanied by a *relative* decline in the rate of growth in the population of the Region. Though there was a small increase of less than one percent from 1950 to 1960, this stands in clear contrast to the seven and one-half percent increase which occurred for all of Allegheny County. Relative to the rest of the County, Mon-Yough lost population.

Also through the same period the Region, in common with the rest of the County, saw an aging of its population. In 1960 31.3 percent of its people were 45 or above, more than a five per cent increase in this age group since 1950. Similarly there was a rise of 3.5 per cent (to 35.9) in the group aged 19 and below, reflecting the general upward movement in the birth rate after World War II. Of necessity these increases imply a decrease in numbers in the group from 20-44, which is also not unusual. However, Mon-Yough experienced a sharper loss in this prime group than did the County as a whole. Mon-Yough showed a decline of 21.1 per cent (in absolute figures, more than 23,000 people) while Allegheny County dropped by 12.2 per cent in this age group. It is probably accurate to infer from this that Mon-Yough's deficit in the 20-44 group is not simply the result of the natural aging process, but of outward migration as well. This is consistent with the very evident fact that the Pittsburgh metropolitan area, and the Mon-Yough portion of it in particular, lost ground to many expanding sections elsewhere in the country. It could not complete with these in the number and kind of employment opportunities which it could offer to its youth who were entering the labor market for the first time. Many of them apparently moved out of the Region, in rather larger numbers than those who moved into it.

With respect to the non-white segment of the population, there was a moderate increase both in Mon-Yough and throughout the County, such that in 1960, 7.6 per cent of the Mon-Yough population was non-white, with the comparable figure for the County being 8.3 per cent. These numbers mask an important difference occasioned by the fact that most of the non-whites in the County are concentrated in a few neighborhoods in Pittsburgh. Mon-Yough's percentage non-white is only about half that of Pittsburgh's, and Pittsburgh's in turn is small in comparison to Washington D. C., Detroit, Chicago, etc. Still this does not mean that Mon-Yough's non-whites (which essentially means Negroes) are so few in number as to be inconsequential to community action organizations. Indeed if one takes the perspective which is developed in the following paragraphs, it can be shown that there is an intimate linkage between the racial composition of a town in Mon-Yough, its tendency to grow or decline, the prosperity of its families, and their level of education. The value of this perspective lies mainly in its demonstration of the interdependence of these demographic, economic and educational variables, suggesting that fundamental change (such as the eradication of poverty) cannot be accomplished when remedial efforts are concentrated on but one of these factors, to the exclusion of the others.

This perspective is comparative. It moves the level of discussion from "Mon-Yough in relation to Allegheny County" which has been used above to "the relation of Mon-Yough's municipalities to each other." There are 31 such local units, but only 19 of these are relevant for this new perspective. Twelve have been set aside because each has less than 50 non-whites. (These numbers are so small as to render suspect any conclusions based upon them.) The 19 remaining Mon-Yough communities each had more than 50 non-whites according to the 1960 census.

This perspective considers these 19 municipalities and asks: Are there discernible relationship among their patterns of growth (or decline), their racial compositions and the changes in these compositions, the educational levels of their populations and the incomes of their families? Answers are provided by appropriate analysis of data contained in the tables in Appendix A. Since the inquiry is directed toward comparison of these 19 with each other, each of the five listed variables was converted into a rank-order. This permitted each community to be given a rank (from 1 to 19) on each of the variables, making possible the computation of a rank-order coefficient of correlation between each pair of variables. The resultant coefficients, contained in this table, reveal a pattern of association which ranges (with but one exception) from moderate to very strong.

Several of these relations are well-known and require little comment. It is not surprising that the fastest growing communities tend to have the smallest proportion of families with small incomes (−.93) and the largest proportion of people who have completed high school (.76). In keeping with this, the communities with the greatest percentage of low-income families also tend to have smaller percentages who have at least finished high school (−.84).

The remaining two variables measure different aspects of a community's racial composition. One of these variables is static: Percentage of population which is non-white simply indicates the proportion of the total which was non-white in 1960. The other is dynamic: Percentage change in non-white proportion of total population measures the *relative* change which occurred through the decade of the '50's. Of the two, the dynamic variable is more closely associated with the other three than is the static one (though the dynamic and static variables are also rather highly related to each other: (.62). This suggests that, for example, if one knows the direction and degree of a community's general change in population, he can probably make a more accurate estimate about the tendency of its non-white population to become more or less prominent (—.80) than he can make about its relative prominence at one point in time (—.48). It also says—and this is especially pertinent for planners of community action—that growing communities in Mon-Yough tend to have decreasing proportions of non-whites, and declining communities tend to have increasing percentages of this group.

Patterns of Association among Population Change, Racial Composition, Change in Racial Composition, Family Income and Educational Level in 19 Mon-Yough Communities

Rank Order of:	Rank Order of: Percentage of Families with less than $3000 income (1960)	Percentage of population which is non-white (1960)	Percentage change in non-white proportion of total population (1950-1960)	Percentage of population which finished high school (1960)
Percentage change in population (1950-1960)	−.93***	−.48**	−.80***	.76***
Percentage of families with less than $3000 income (1960)		.42*	.78***	−.84***
Percentage of population which is non-white (1960)			.62***	−.17
Percentage change in non-white proportion of total population (1950-[illegible]0)				−.48**

Figures are Spearman rank order correlation coefficients.
Probability levels: *.05 **.02 ***.01

Thus, even in a region which is itself declining, there are internal changes and variations which fall into a rather tight pattern. To put the matter more concretely, in Mon-Yough low income groups tend to become more prominent (in percentage terms) in communities which are losing population and which have relatively large numbers of people with low levels of formal education. For well-known reasons, Negroes as a group receive less education and lower incomes than do whites as a group. It is probably the case that, in some measure, the Negro populations in these declining communities are contributing to the larger percentages on the income and educational variables. This cannot be ascertained directly, because census breakdowns do not give detailed information about income and education for non-whites. Nevertheless, from what is known there is room for some doubt about this interpretation. If Negroes by themselves were accounting for the bulk of low-income families and depressed educational levels, the static variable should be rather strongly related to income and to education. But it is not. In fact, these two coefficients are the weakest in the table. One of them, the relation between the percentage non-white in 1960 and the percentage with a high school education was so small (−.17) as not to reach statistical significance; here there may be no association at all.

It may be useful to illustrate the general pattern shown in the table by comparing three Mon-Yough communities, two of which fell near opposite ends on the five rank-orders and one which stood approximately in the middle. The first row in the following table shows that White Oak grew rapidly during the decade, holding the second rank position on this variable; McKeesport lost 9.7 per cent and stood in 11th position; while Braddock, which lost more than 25 per cent, was 17th in the order, two ranks above the bottom.

More than any other Mon-Yough community, White Oak qualifies as a "middle class suburb." Like many others in this category, it expanded during the fifties, moving from about 6000 to slightly more than 9000. Its small non-white population of 63 in 1960 had actually grown by 16 during the period, but this increase was so overshadowed by its total growth that the percentage of non-whites in its total actually

Ranks and Percentages for Three Mon-Yough Municipalities on Five Variables: Population Change, Income, Racial Composition, Change in Racial Composition and Education

	White Oak		McKeesport		Braddock	
	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage
Change in Population (1950-60)	2	46.9	11	−9.7	17	−25.2
Families with less than $3000 income (1960)	17	8.3	7	19.6	2	25.6
Non-white population (1960)	19	0.5	7	7.9	2	23.6
Change in non-white proportion of total population (1950-1960)	15	−0.3	13	0.2	1	7.2
Finished high school (1960)	1	51.4	7	31.4	17	26.0

declined by a small amount. More than half of its residents who have reached the age of 25 have completed high school, and its "poverty problem" is not of great magnitude (8.3 per cent of its families are in the low income group).

McKeesport by any standard is a heavily industrial city. Because it stands at the confluence of the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny Rivers, and because it is the largest city in the Region (45,589 in 1960), it functions also in some degree as a service, trading and transportation center for other Mon-Yough communities. Even though it is within commuting distance of Pittsburgh (40 minutes from the business district) it has not been developed or redeveloped to accommodate urban workers seeking suburban dwellings and space; only 6.5 per cent of its employed residents work in Pittsburgh (Appendix A, Table XIXIa). In consequence its population dropped by almost ten per cent between 1950 and 1960, while its proportion of Negroes rose slightly. Because of its absolute size, McKeesport already has the second largest (Clairton has more) number of Negroes in the area; these people are mainly concentrated in and around one public housing project on the north bank of the Youghiogheny River. If the changes noted during this decade should continue along a linear trend, McKeesport will diminish in total population at the same time that its Negro segment will grow both absolutely and proportionately.

This pattern is much more marked in Braddock, which is closer to Pittsburgh but has even less capacity to hold its population. Losing more than a quarter of its population through the ten-year span, it also showed the largest gain in its percentage of non-whites (an increase which was absolute as well as proportionate). More than one-fourth of its families received less than $3000 in 1960, and only 26 per cent of its adult residents had gone as far as high school graduation.

There is an instructive if not altogether welcome lesson in these comparisons. The very communities with the gravest problems of poverty are also the ones which seem to be steadily *losing* the resources which are most desperately needed to cope with the problems. On the other side of the coin, the localities which are gaining the most important of these resources—people—and which show the highest levels of education are those where these problems are relatively less urgent. Fighting poverty takes money, and in Mon-Yough even the modest ten per cent share required for participation in Federal programs is very formidable, whether it is to come in the form of cash contributions by citizens, from local governments through their capacities to levy taxes, or by services or facilities in kind. White Oak, with more than half of its families in the "$7000 and over" bracket, is in a strong position to reduce poverty within its boundaries, but it has little poverty to reduce (Appendix A, Table XII). But in Braddock less than 20 per cent are in the high income class, while more than 25 per cent received incomes in 1960 which put them in the "poor" category by even the most conservative criterion ($3000).

These sharp and ironic contrasts underscore the fundamental justification for the creation of the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee, Inc., and specifically for the emerging (though still problematic) "synthetic organization" which it is nurturing and strengthening. These organization aspects are discussed in the following section.

2. The Organization

The formulation of the plan, the emergence of the organization, and the earliest activities of the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee have been described and discussed. The emergence of this organization into a working mechanism with a charter to promote and initiate change is a realized fact; the admitted scepticism and dubiousness of the observers, which were present throughout most of their relationship with the events that unfolded in the Mon-Yough Region, now are gone. In their place is the belief that MYCAC's experiences demonstrate that "it can be done."

MYCAC is now an operating organization; it has, at least to the satisfaction of the Washington personnel who are responsible for deciding about the future of community action committees, justified its existence and eligibility for continued government support. Also, implicit in the renewal of its conduct and administration grant, is the fact that the synthesizing process has been accomplished. However, the full synthesis has not been accomplished; but, one must no longer hesitate to suggest that an incomplete synthesis may constitute a necessary condition for the fulfillment of organization-realization.

The full-synthesis probably will be achieved when the elite agents of the Region's political and business leadership take steps to affirm positively their willingness to both participate in and support the role of MYCAC. At this point the political segment of the Region's power structure has remained indifferent: the business leadership has provided token support, and the extent of future union support is to be determined. Noteworthy throughout the entire organizational effort has been the absence of any direct and manifest hostility to the idea and the formalization of the community action committee from the political and business leadership and this, perhaps more than anything else, has engendered the necessary climate of environmental permissiveness that was needed to effect the partial synthesis.

Essentially, a climate of environmental permissiveness may be regarded as one of two necessary conditions that need be satisfied if a community action committee is to succeed in the evolution from an idea to a concretized organization. The second condition is that the organization identify and relate its goals to the needs of that segment of the population which it wishes to represent and service. This condition appears to have been satisfied. The degree of its fulfillment is directly related to the relevant public's responsiveness to the working philosophy of the organization, where the latter is communicated and manifested through the activities of the organization.

The activities of MYCAC, having their origin in the diffused purview of its administrative-mission, are multi-dimensional. The efforts of this community action organization, in the narrowest interpretation, are directed toward promoting and affecting change. However, in the broader interpretation, the operation and activities have as their foci the individual, the organic vested interest groups, the formal bureaucratic private and public institutionalized agencies, and the general social-political-economic milieu of the total environment in which people live and work. In essence, it is the task of MYCAC to reshape and weld anew the sinews of personal attachment and commitment to community life and progress as it (simultaneously) assumes and fulfills the role of a "nerve center." That is, MYCAC is responsible for integrating the frayed edges of the social fabric into a meaningful and operationally pliable cloth.

This is not an insurmountable task, but it is not a simple or readily attainable task. The community action organization is people-oriented. It, more than any other institution or organization, has to fashion a product from the rawest and least malleable of all resources—the human being, a resource that is not without the energy to resist change and to articulate its discontent with any attempt to transform it into a new shape and form. The result of the process of people-transformation should, under the most favorable circumstances, appear as a viable and more productive human resource whose talents have no opportunity-limits other than those imposed by social attribution.

It is axiomatic to assert that human beings cannot be manipulated freely; it equally may be axiomatic to assert that the environment which provides the framework within which human talent develops will rarely subscribe to the very broad and sometimes undefined goals and objectives of a people-oriented undertaking with a voluntary and purposively demonstrative expression of commitment to the task. If one accepts these as basic propositions, one also ought to recognize their implications for the role-execution of the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee.

With reference to the accomplishments that MYCAC may expect from its activities, it is suggested that all substantive results will follow once and after its clients become awakened to a consciousness of unlimited opportunities for the development and the exercise of their capabilities. In other words, a principal prerequisite for all activities that MYCAC hopes to sponsor is a motivated client. Economic poverty and emotional despair are conditions of the body and the mind to which human beings may inure themselves; not because of lethargy and not entirely because of ignorance, but perhaps because of an effete optimism that ultimately produced a state of hypnotic immobility and, subsequently, at least to the casual observer, an attitude of defensiveness and indifference. Neither attribute is desirable, for they militate against effective action or response to a promise merely of assistance.

Our observations of the MYCAC operation indicate that the presence of this organization may have catalyzed these attributes, and transformed them into positive aggressiveness. Clients have been seeking-out the staff of MYCAC for advice, guidance, and even employment with a renewed confidence as they circumvent the traditional agencies of assistance. It matters little that MYCAC is inadequately prepared to cope with the unexpected demands that are being made upon it by individual members of the Region and that it often is unable to offer a realization of the individual's expectations. What is important, if not of very great social significance, is MYCAC's "total person" approach to the individual. This, together with the absence of vested interest and bureaucratic restraints which otherwise foster caution over action, appears to have created a climate for inter-personal communication and trust that might be lacking in other relationships these clients may have experienced.

The clients exist. In its very brief life MYCAC has managed to extend and to communicate its action-oriented philosophy to the poor and disadvantaged residents of the Mon-Yough Region. Evidence of this success is not limited to the fact that individuals have taken the initiative by presenting themselves at MYCAC's door. Additional evidence of the spontaneity surrounding this community action organization *and* the latent forces which it seems able to energize is provided by its entry and welcome reception into the area of recreation for the youth of the Region. Here, as previously explained, the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee acted to fill a gap in the ordinary services that citizens are accustomed to receive from their municipal authority. Noteworthy in this instance is not what some may cite as an untoward usurpation of a sphere of government, instead it is the refreshing fact that citizens in need *came* to MYCAC and were able to secure a result. This, then, is regarded as evidence to support the contention that individuals will organize themselves to bring MYCAC to their doors.

With reference to the environmental framework and its impact upon the community action organization's activities, one cannot overstate the contribution which the diverse (hopefully, not disparate) individual and organizational elements of the Region must make to ensure the ultimate success of the effort to help the poor as they try to help themselves. In the aggregate, it is necessary for the community to become aware and sensitized to the problems of the poor. From a micro-scopic analysis the inescapable conclusion emerges: MYCAC, or a similar organization, must demonstrate both a willingness and a capacity to co-ordinate its activities with the extant and more traditional institutions; also, it must be willing to play a complementary role; and, not the least in importance, it must accept the responsibility for innovating creatively and constructively whenever it is deemed necessary.

In other words, although MYCAC is essentially an organization created to identify and to reflect the needs of the poor and while it must permit the poor to participate in the development of a community action program, it must overcome the burden presented to it by the environment in which it seeks to operate. It must restructure attitudes present in the environment to generate the forces that lead to its unqualified acceptance in the community. At the same time, it must lead, push, pull, and perhaps cajole the entire resources of a community towards the development and the implementation of a comprehensive and integrative campaign against the destructive forces of human impoverishment.

Surely, this amounts to an overwhelming task. It is especially so when one recalls the earlier prescription, now stated explicitly: a successful and continuously effective community action organization is deemed probably only so long as the organization retains its independence and in the process of prosecuting its mission remains an apolitical institution.

The description of MYCAC's relations with its environmental givens, and the chronicle of its origin and organizational structure serve to illustrate how the institutionalization of a synthetic organization ought to evolve. It may have occurred by accident, but it is more likely that the initial success of MYCAC—in the formative stage—is a reflection of its leaderships' conscious determination to succeed and their sensitivity to the needs of the extant and competing social service agencies in the Region. The latter is evidenced by the participatory role that MYCAC extends to such organizations, by the overlapping membership on its Board of Directors and its Advisory Committee, and by its respect of jurisdictional lines in general.

The MYCAC proposals, either the ones submitted to Washington or in the pre-submission stage of development, are consistent with the broad objectives of a people-oriented effort which is directed toward ameliorating (if not eliminating) personal poverty. These efforts, and they take a variety of forms, are designed to help the old, the young, the teenager, and the unemployed or the marginally employed husband of a young and growing family. These are the persons that need to be helped in a small and economically stagnant area, an area facing the prospect of inevitable decline and one in which the poor population is largely unable to help itself or to expect significant assistance from traditional sources of aid.

Through MYCAC, as it should be with other community action organizations, the emphasis is directed primarily upon the individual; to secure the necessary restructuring of his attitudes, and to enable the development of his capabilities so as to improve the probability that such an affected human being will afterwards better be able to "help himself." Of course, the given community, will derive considerable benefits from the achieved transformation.

Is the success of MYCAC assured? Is the success inevitable? These are two legitimate questions that ought to be considered, particularly when the basic issue is concerned with a public policy question: ought the federal government subsidize and sustain community action programs; have all the alternatives been examined and evaluated?

This is not the place to treat these questions, but it seems incumbent to generalize in order to place all that has been said about MYCAC and community action in proper perspective. Therefore, it may be left to others the task of measuring and assessing the technological efficiency of the community action alternative. However, the following observations seem pertinent:

1. The "input" provided by the community action committee, as it seeks to effect the process of people-transformation, is education. In the broadest construction of this word, it has the responsibility for collecting and disseminating information about opportunities that will permit the "poor" to maximize their intake of socio-economic welfare services that are available in their communities; it must contribute to improving the efficiency with which such services are dispensed; it must make the total community and the designated recipients of community action services cognitively aware of the opportunity, the need, and the possibility of cooperating to ameliorate effectively personal poverty through thorough diagnosis and appropriate action; it must develop and also implement action projects to demonstrate that the process is both accomplishable and worthy of support;

2. The "method" used by the community action committee is really a micro application of public investment to enlarge the capitalized value of the human resource. This end is achieved either through immediate job-placement or through an alteration of the future rate of discount that is used to capitalize the value of a producing resource. The latter end is achieved through a variety of methods, but four of the most obvious are identified because of their direct relevance to the understanding of community action: extending of the human beings' own time horizon; increasing the number of years of productive services that he may actually render; by personal upgrading, which thereby transforms the nature of the human being's resource state; and, by reducing the costs and the associated risks attached to his employment status, as perceived by an employer;
3. The "result" of the means and the method should be recognized for what it is: a contribution to the future in the form of an expected enlargement of the individual's productive capabilities, the realization of which is contingent upon other investments and economic developments that will provide the assurances needed for a full utilization of human resources and less waste in their current uses.

The principal implication of these observations is to suggest that the contribution which an organization such as MYCAC can be expected to make to the elimination of poverty is limited, at least within a given community. The national or aggregate impact from an interaction of a multitude of individual community action committees is likely to be greater than each one's own effect in its own area.

4

THE MON-YOUGH REGION: A DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC PROFILE

The Mon-Yough Region consists of 31 politically autonomous communities in the South-Eastern section of Allegheny County. These communities border upon the City of Pittsburgh directly and extend to the east and the south of the City. They comprise a contiguous geographic bloc and are characterized as much by diversity as they are by uniformities with respect to their economic and demographic features.

This profile of the Mon-Yough Region, and the individual communities within it, has been prepared (a) to acquaint the population of the Region with the characteristics of the area in which they live; (b) to give direction to members of the Mon-Yough Region who are concerned with the state of poverty that exists in the area, and who may wish to secure freedom from or to protect themselves against poverty by availing themselves of the services that can be obtained through community action activities; and (c) to indicate the implications for community action.

The focus of the study is upon the people who reside in the Region. Their demographic and economic characteristics are described, and the implications which these characteristics have for the design and implementation of anti-poverty programs are discussed. Although the communities must accept the ultimate responsibility for improving their economic and social welfare and for making the decisions about programs and the priority which such programs are to receive, this report does identify the communities which appear to be most urgently in need for help from the offices of the community action program. The study also identifies some of the problem-areas in which community action programs might be undertaken.

Finally, this study shows a community action organization that it is possible to both inventory and interpret meaningfully the salient characteristics of an area by relying upon relatively simple and most readily available data—i.e., publications of the federal and state governments. Indirectly, this profile should engender an appreciation for data among community action leaders to identify and justify their proposals and programs for action; it should sharpen their appetite for more information about their areas and the people they are to service; it should stimulate them to maintain data on their own projects for use in program evaluation analysis; and it should encourage them to request that other agencies, with access to relevant data, maintain and loan to them all information that may be needed in preparing and justifying the campaign against poverty.

These facts, and their analysis, reflect the economic and social problems and needs of the Mon-Yough Region and point to the need for community action.

A. POPULATION AND POPULATION CHANGE

Table I of Appendix A shows the size of the population within each community for the years 1950 and 1960, as of April 1. The Table shows, also, the percent of change in the population of each community on a 1950 base.

1. Highlights:

A. Examination of the Table reveals that 11 communities had experienced an increase of population while 20 communities of the Region had decreased in population.

1. In absolute terms, the City of McKeesport experienced the largest population decrease. Its 1960 population was 4.9 thousand less than its population of 1950.

2. The population of Braddock declined by slightly more than four thousand, and the population of Duquesne and Homestead declined by approximately 2.5 thousand.

B. Of the 11 communities whose population increased, West Mifflin experienced the largest gain. Its population rose by 9.3 thousand. This community was followed, in descending order of population increase, by Elizabeth Township, North Versailles, White Oak, Liberty, Port Vue, West Homestead, Munhall, Braddock Hills, Forward Township, and East McKeesport.

C. In percentage terms, the communities of Rankin, Glassport, and Braddock were the largest losers of population. In each the 1960 population was 25 percent smaller than the 1950 population.

1. East Pittsburgh, Versailles, Wall, and Wilmerding lost between 18 and 22 percent of their 1950 population.

2. Population decreases between 10 and 15 percent were experienced by Duquesne, Turtle Creek, Lincoln, and North Braddock.

D. The largest rate of population increase took place in Liberty. The 1960 population of this community was 2½ times greater than its size in 1950.

1. The population increases of West Mifflin, White Oak, Elizabeth Township, and North Versailles ranged from 51.7 percent to 38.3 percent.

2. The communities of West Homestead, Port Vue, and Braddock Hills experienced population increases of 27.6, 25.3 and 22.8 percent respectively.

3. The other communities, with more population in 1960 than in 1950, were East McKeesport, Forward Township, and Munhall. The respective percent of increase was 9.4, 9.3, and 5.3.

E. In the decennial period 1950–1960, the aggregate population of the Mon-Yough Region remained almost constant; the population of Allegheny County, of which the Region is a part, increased by 7.5 percent.

In 1950 the Region constituted 17.7 percent of the County's total population, whereas in 1960 the Region's share of the County's total population was 16.6 percent.

1. Within the Mon-Yough Region, itself, the City of McKeesport's share of population declined from 33.3 percent in 1950 to 27.9 percent in 1960.

2. In 1950, the 10 communities with the largest Mon-Yough population constituted 69 percent of the total number of persons residing in the Region. In 1960, the share of the Region's population residing in the 10 largest communities was still 69 percent.

However, the rank-ordering of the top ten communities did not remain the same. Also, the composition of the top ten communities did not remain unchanged. North Versailles moved into the top ten, and Homestead moved out.

2. Implications:

A. The data presented in Table I are *not* sufficient to enable an identification of particular problem areas, suitable for community action programs, that may exist within any community. Furthermore, they are *not* adequate guides for establishing a priority listing when funds are to be allocated for implementing community action programs under the aegis of a Mon-Yough Region effort. Similarly, the levying of assessments to finance Mon-Yough programs ought *not* to be determined solely on the basis of population size.

B. The data *do* serve to suggest that the Mon-Yough Region is made-up of two distinctly different types of communities: growing ones and declining ones. More precisely, the growing community most likely is experiencing either a relative expansion in general employment opportunities or experiencing an increase in the income level of its population which is independent of any changes in the employment structure within the community. Of course, both phenomena may be interacting simultaneously. The declining community, on the other hand, most likely reflects a declining employment-opportunity structure within its local economy.

C. Also, the data serve to suggest that the Mon-Yough Region's ability to influence the direction and tenor of county-level decision-making declined from 1950 in relation to the entire County subdivisions—when political influence is related to population.

This slight diminution in Mon-Yough's intra-County political strength becomes more pronounced if the City of Pittsburgh is excluded from the County. That is, in 1950 the Mon-Yough Region constituted 32 percent of the total County-less-Pittsburgh population and only 26 percent of the comparable 1960 population.

Now, since the City of Pittsburgh is excluded from the anti-poverty program for the County, this provides some justification for the creation of the Mon-Yough Community Action Committee to deal with the particular, and perhaps unique problems confronting each individual community or the Region as a whole.

B. AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

Tables II, III, and IIIa of Appendix A, deal with the age structure of the total population in each community, for the Mon-Yough Region, and for Allegheny County. Table II shows the number of persons in each area, grouped by selected ages, for 1950 and 1960. Table III shows the percentage distribution of each community's population by the selected age group. Table IIIa, derived from Table II, shows the decennial percent of change in the size of each age group.

Each entry in Table IIIa may be interpreted as a measure of the speed with which the changes in the age composition of the population for each community had taken place from 1950 to 1960. Also, the data presented in Table IIIa describe the rates of change which *should have taken place* in each community's supply of special services and facilities for persons within the selected age groups (especially for the group 19 years and under and the group 65 and over) *if the level of per-capita output of such community-provided services was to remain constant* —i.e., equal to what it was in 1950.

1. Highlights:

A. The proportion of persons age 65 years and older in the Mon-Yough Region increased 2.4 percent between 1950 and 1960. This increase was *larger* than the increase for the County.

1. Twenty-eight communities within the Region experienced an increase in the proportion of persons age 65 and over.

Three communities—Braddock Hills, Elizabeth Township, and West Homestead—experienced slight decreases.

2. In nineteen of the communities, the increase in the proportion of "senior citizens" was greater than the average increase that took place in the Region.

Excluding Trafford, the greater portion of which lies outside of the Region, the largest increases in the proportion of persons age 65 and over occurred in West Elizabeth and Duquesne. In each, the proportion of senior citizens in the total population increased 5 percent. Increases ranging from 4 to 5 percent were experienced by Rankin, Wall, Homestead, Wilmerding, and East Pittsburgh.

B. The average change in the Region's share of persons age 19 years and under was an increase of 3.5 percent. This increase was *less* than the increase for the County.

1. The number of younger persons, expressed as a percent of each community's total population, increased in 27 communities.

The four communities that experienced a decrease in the proportion of younger persons were Liberty, Trafford, Whitaker, and Dravosburg.

2. In seven communities, the increase equalled or exceeded the average increase experienced by the Region. The largest increase occurred in West Homestead—in this community the proportion of its population age 19 and under increased from 29.9 percent in 1950 to 37.0 percent in 1960. The other six, arranged in descending order of increase, were: Lincoln, Port Vue, Elizabeth Township, Munhall, Duquesne, and Rankin.

C. There were six communities which experienced an increase in *both* the younger and the older age groups that exceeded the increases for the Region. These were: Duquesne, Lincoln, Munhall, Rankin, Trafford, and Whitaker.

In only one community, Lincoln, was the increase in the relative proportion of younger persons and older persons greater than the increases for the County.

D. An examination of the change in the proportion of the number of persons age 45 to 64 years shows the Region to have experienced a greater increase than the County. In the Region, persons in this age group comprised a larger share of the total population in 1960 than they did in 1950—the increase was 2.5 percent. The corresponding increase for the County was less than half of one percent.

1. In 28 communities the relative share of total population between the ages of 45 to 64 years increased from 1950 to 1960. In 13 communities, the increase exceeded the average increase for the Region. The largest percentage shifts occurred in Braddock Hills (6.6), Whitaker (5.7), Dravosburg (3.8), Trafford (3.8), and East McKeesport (3.6).

The three communities in which the proportion of persons between the ages of 45 and 64 years declined were White Oak, West Elizabeth, and West Homestead.

E. The direction of change associated with the structural shifts in the proportion of total population between the ages of 20 to 44 years was the same for the County, the Region, and each community within the Region—the proportion of the population in this age group decreased from 1950 to 1960. The decrease for the County was 7.3 percent; the decrease for the Region was 8.9 percent. That is: in 1950 persons between these ages constituted 39.9 percent of the County's population and 41.2 percent of the Region's population, but in 1960 the proportions declined to 32.6 percent and 32.3 percent respectively.

1. In fourteen of the communities, the decline in the proportion of persons between the ages of 20 to 44 years within the total population exceeded the decrease experienced by the Region as a whole.

In seven communities the decline exceeded 10 percent. The greatest decrease occurred in Glassport—the share of total population occupied by this age group in 1960 was 13.8 percent less than it was in 1950. The other six communities in which the decline exceeded 10 percent for this age group, arranged in descending order, were: Munhall, Port Vue, Clairton, McKeesport, Lincoln, and Homestead.

F. A consolidation of the age group 20 to 44 years with the age group 45 to 64 years embraces that component of a community's population which is most likely to be engaged in productive activities.

In every area—County, Region, and each community—the proportion of population between the ages of 20 to 64 years was lower in 1960 than it was in 1950.

1. In the County, the proportion of total population in this "productive" age group declined from 61.6 percent to 54.7 percent. The comparable figures for the Mon-Yough Region were 60.6 percent and 54.4 percent.

2. For the individual communities within the Region, the range of the decline was from less than one percent in Liberty to 13.0 percent in Glassport.

In sixteen communities, the decline in the proportion of population between the ages of 20 to 64 years was greater than the average decline in the Region. These communities, arranged in descending order, were: Glassport, Munhall, Port Vue, McKeesport, Clairton, Lincoln, West Elizabeth, Rankin, North Braddock, Wall, Homestead, Braddock, Duquesne, North Versailles, and West Homestead.

2. Implications:

A. The structural changes in the age distributions for the communities of the Mon-Yough Region assume great significance when viewed from the perspective which emphasizes the maintenance and the development of human resources. It is readily apparent that the Region, between 1950 and 1960, has aged. Not so apparent, but not to be overlooked, is the trend that is revealed by the data. That is, with respect to the age structure of the communities it should be expected that the population will continue to age.

The Region's population of persons within the most productive age group (20 to 44 years) declined sharply in the decennial period. This is probably the result of a net outward migration of productive talent from the Region. This, however, is not the sole cause for the relative aging of the population. It is certainly a contributing factor, but there were significant increases in the absolute number of persons age 65 years and over in the communities and in the Region as a whole.

1. The increase in the number of older persons, ones who no longer can be expected to be active participants in the labor market, suggests that every community should expect to be called upon to increase the supply of geriatric social welfare services it offers to its population—ranging from health care to recreation to provisions for income maintenance.

2. Such services are largely provided by and subsidized through County and State agencies, but the higher rate of increase for this component of total population which prevails in the Region, as contrasted with developments in the County, suggests that the Region's problems might be coped with more efficiently and effectively if programs were developed and administered at the local level.

B. In contrast with the developments in the County, the Mon-Yough Region has suffered a disproportionately greater decrease in the number of persons between the ages of 20 to 44 years and experienced a greater rate of increase in the population between the ages of 45 to 64 years. The net consequence of these changes is to make the problems of the Region different from the problems of the County. It must be stressed that the difference, however, should be regarded as one of degree and not as one of type.

1. The net outward migration of persons from the Region, as well as from the County, may have reduced or eliminated much of the social and economic adversity that otherwise would have prevailed in the area between 1950 and 1960. In fact, it may have even concealed or diverted attention from any economic impoverishment that may exist in the area. Now, however, the Region can no longer place as much reliance upon migration as a mechanism for inducing community adjustment to economic adversity as may the County.

Furthermore, given that occupational and industrial mobility tend to decline with age, it may be said that the Region can no longer place much reliance upon mobility to assure itself that individuals will be less vulnerable and better able to combat unemployment and economic deprivation by taking advantage of opportunities that may exist in the local economies or outside of them.

2. Now, since institutionalized help is recognized as a socially legitimate medium through which individuals may be assisted and prepared to grapple with the vicissitudes of an uncertain economic environment, it may be said that the communities of the Mon-Yough Region require greater and more immediate help than does the rest of the County.

Again, this is an instance in which the identification of needs and the necessary coordination of efforts is likely to be efficiently and effectively accomplished through local initiative and administration.

3. An obvious result of the changes in the age structure of the population is that the Mon-Yough Region's pool of available manpower has been significantly diminished. In the short-run, where this is the consequence of supply adjusting to changes in the demand for labor, this result is deemed desirable. However, in the longer-run the paucity of manpower in the prime years of working life may redound to the disadvantage of the Region if the expansion of industrial activity is made contingent upon an available pool of labor.

The communities of the Region can do little to hold its younger persons captive in anticipation of an improvement in the relative economic opportunities afforded them in the Region. Still, efforts can be directed toward developing the talents and expanding the industrial viability of the new entrants into the labor market. It matters little that market incentives may draw such persons away from the Region's economy; of greater importance is that the Region develop the facilities and demonstrate its ability to provide industry with qualified workers so that when the demand is made it will be satisfied.

C. THE NON-WHITE POPULATION

Tables IV through VII of Appendix A present data dealing with the non-white component of the total population in the areas under study.

Table IV shows the number of non-whites in the Region and in each of the communities for the years 1950 and 1960. Data for the County are also presented. In addition, the Table shows the non-white population as a percent of the total population for each of the selected years in the given areas.

1. Highlights:

A. The proportion of non-whites in the Mon-Yough Region and in Allegheny County increased from 1950 to 1960.

1. In both 1950 and 1960, the proportion of non-whites in the Region's population was lower than the proportion of non-whites in the population of the County.

2. If the City of Pittsburgh is excluded from the County, the proportion of non-whites in the County is reduced from 8.3 percent in 1960 to 3.3 percent. This contrasts sharply with the Region's racial structure in 1960. The proportion of the Region's total population that was classified as non-white by the Census was 7.6.

With Pittsburgh excluded, 61.4 percent of the non-whites living in Allegheny County resided in the Mon-Yough Region.

B. In 1960, for seven Mon-Yough communities the proportion of non-whites in the total population exceeded the average for the Region. In six of these communities, the proportion of non-whites in the total population was greater than the County's average.

The six communities were: Rankin, Braddock, Clairton, Homestead, Duquesne, and Braddock Hills. The seventh community was McKeesport.

1. In six communities, the non-white component of total population made-up from 5.0 percent to 7.6 percent of the 1960 population.

These communities are: North Braddock, North Versailles, Elizabeth, West Mifflin, Forward Township, and East Pittsburgh.

2. In one-third of the Mon-Yough communities less than one percent of the 1960 population was classified as non-white.

These communities are: Whitaker, Lincoln, East McKeesport, Munhall, White Oak, Glassport, Turtle Creek, Pitcairn, Dravosburg, and the portion of Trafford defined as within the Mon-Yough Region.

C. Although the proportion of non-whites in the total population increased from 1950 to 1960 for the Region as a whole, there were thirteen communities in which this general change did not occur.

1. In eight communities the change in the racial structure of the population was such that the proportion of non-whites in the total population was lowered.

The largest decreases occurred in Braddock Hills and West Elizabeth. In both, the proportion of non-whites decreased 5.4 percent. In Elizabeth Township and West Mifflin the proportion of non-white persons to the total population decreased 2.2 and 2.0 percent, respectively. In Lincoln, Forward Township, White Oak, and Glassport the non-white component of the total population decreased less than one percent from 1950 to 1960.

2. Non-whites as a percent of total population remained the same for 1950 and 1960 in five communities: Dravosburg, Pitcairn, Trafford, Turtle Creek, and West Homestead.

D. In seven communities, the increase in the proportion of the non-whites in the total population from 1950 to 1960 was greater than 3 percent.

This occurred in Braddock (7.2), Duquesne (5.3), Rankin (4.9), Homestead (4.7), Clairton (4.5), East Pittsburgh (3.4), and North Braddock (3.2).

2. Implications:

A. *General Statement of Values.*

If all persons were homogeneous with respect to racial attributes there would have been no need to accord special consideration to the non-white component of the Mon-Yough population. Similarly, even if there were an absence of homogeneity with respect to racial attributes there would be no reason to focus upon the non-white component of the population *if* (and only if) one could be assured with certainty that the given social system did not contain elements of racial discrimination.

Without becoming concerned with documenting the presence or absence of racial-prejudice in any of the communities of the Mon-Yough Region, it appears reasonable to believe that the consequences of history will have left its legacy in the Region. This is to suggest that the social, economic, and political status of the non-white population can be assumed to have been subordinated to the interests of the white majority. Furthermore, it probably is not unreasonable to assume that the non-white population's opportunities for social and economic progress are more limited than the range of opportunities afforded to the white population in general.

A community action program ought to be color-blind. In fact, it should be person-blind. The community action program should concern itself with the task of ultimately achieving a reconstruction of the opportunity-spectrum; it ought to attack the correlates of poverty, if not the causes of impoverishment, irrespective of race, religion, ethnic origin and orientation. The "clients" of the community action program should be "solicited" from the entire community; the design and implementation of a community action program, a priori, should neither accord preference to nor place in a position of priority the needs of one element in a community to the exclusion of others with similar needs.

B. *Real Considerations*

It must be conceded that the racial composition of a community should be considered by the leaders of the community action program. Also, the rate of change in the racial structure of the community is a variable that should not be ignored—particularly when the adequacy of existing services is to be assessed.

Since the typical community action program is essentially a composite arrangement of independent and specific problem-oriented efforts directed toward "helping" and "rehabilitating" those who are largely unable to cope personally with their environment, it seems likely to expect instances in which the given activity will emerge as one that has its origin in the special and urgent "needs" of a single segment of the total population.

In other instances the objective of the program may not have its origin in the problems so uniquely associated, and the client-scope will be general. However, unless it is assumed that the incidence of poverty is the same for the white and non-white components, one should expect to encounter a racial-mix among the program's participants which is different from the racial-mix of the total population.

The Census data from which this report is assembled do not permit a cross-classification of the economic and demographic characteristics with the race of the population for the Mon-Yough communities. As a result, no definite statements may be made to identify the "poor" who will expect to receive aid from the community action programs by their racial character. However, the following generalizations are offered to the leaders of the community action programs of the Region: (1) in communities with a relatively large non-white population it seems reasonable to expect that the non-white persons will constitute a significant proportion of the membership involved in any undertaking; (2) when the non-white component of the total population constitutes a significant proportion of the community's population it seems reasonable to suggest that some programs will be necessary to help this segment solve its own, unique problems.

In essence, the leaders of the community action program are being directed toward giving consideration to the racial structure of their communities for two principal purposes. First, to better identify the prospective clients and types of activities which may be necessary in each community. Second, to recognize that the expenses involved in the design and implementation of any program is likely to be a function of the racial-mix present in any activity.

C. *Additional Considerations.*

It is possible for the community action leaders to acquire a greater appreciation for and understanding of the racial-mix factor, as a variable that deserves attention in the war against local poverty, if the changes in the racial structure of the given communities are analyzed. An explanation, in aggregate terms, is presented to further enable the community action leaders to identify the communities and the problem-areas which may require special consideration. However, an analysis in terms of cause and effect relationships is not offered. The presentation is limited to the communities in which the non-white proportion of total population exhibited the greatest change.

1. In Clairton, Braddock, Duquesne, and McKeesport the proportion of non-whites in the total population increased from 1950 to 1960. This increase is the consequence of an absolute increase in the number of non-white persons residing in each community *and* an absolute decrease in the size of the total population in each community.

2. In North Versailles the relative increase in the non-white component of the total population was contemporaneous with an increase in the total population of each community. In other words, the increase in the number of non-whites persons was proportionately larger than the increase in the number of white persons.

3. In Rankin and Homestead both the non-white population and the total population decrease in absolute size between 1950 and 1960. However, the non-white component of the total population was relatively larger in 1960 than it was in 1950. This change in racial structure is a reflection of the difference in the rates of decrease for the non-white and the white components—*viz.*, in each community the net-outward movement of white persons was relatively greater than the net-outward movement of non-white persons.

4. In Elizabeth Township, Forward Township, and Braddock Hills the proportion of non-whites in the total population declined between 1950 and 1960. In each of these communities there was an absolute decline in the number of non-white persons *and* a contemporaneous increase in the size of the total population.

5. In West Elizabeth the non-white component and the total population declined in absolute size. In this community, the rate of net-outward movement of the non-white component exceeded the rate of net-outward movement of the white component; accordingly, the proportion of non-whites to the total population was reduced between 1950 and 1960.

6. In West Mifflin the non-white population and the total community population increased from 1950 to 1960. However, the proportion of non-whites in the West Mifflin population declined from 1950 to 1960. This relative decline is due to the fact that the rate of increase in the white component exceeded the rate of increase in the non-white component.

Tables V and VI present data on the age structure of the non-white population in each of the communities for 1950 and 1960. The first Table shows the absolute number of non-white persons in the four selected age groups; the second Table shows the percentage distribution of the non-white population by age group for each community.

The examination of the Tables is limited to the 13 communities whose 1960 non-white population comprised at least 5 percent of the total population. The focus of the examination is to identify the major structural shifts that occurred in the age distribution of the non-white population in the selected communities.

3. Highlights:

A. In ten communities, the proportion of the non-white population in the "senior citizen" group, age 65 years and over, is seen to have increased from 1950 to 1960. The most striking increases occurred in West Mifflin, Braddock Hills, and Homestead. The respective increases in relative share for these communities were 10.8, 7.8, and 6.8 percent.

1. In two communities, Duquesne and East Pittsburgh, the percent of non-white persons in the senior citizen category appears to have remained virtually constant. That is, in both communities the percent of senior citizens in the non-white population is shown to have decreased by less than one percent in the decade.

2. The percent of non-white persons age 65 years and over in Elizabeth's non-white population *decreased* from 14.2 percent in 1950 to 10.7 percent in 1960.

B. In ten communities, the relative share of younger persons, age 19 years and under, in the non-white population is shown to have increased. In East Pittsburgh, Forward Township, and Duquesne are found the most striking increases. The respective increases in the relative share for this age group in the three communities were 16.6, 12.1, and 8.2 percent.

1. Representation of this age group in the total non-white population of Elizabeth, Braddock Hills, and North Versailles declined between 1950 and 1960. The respective declines for these communities were 16.6, 5.8, and 1.2 percent.

C. In each of the thirteen communities the proportion of the non-white population between the ages of 20 to 44 years declined, relative to the total non-white population of each town.

1. The largest decreases were observed in Forward Township and East Pittsburgh. In each, the percent of non-white persons in this age group, relative to the total non-white population, declined more than 10 percent during the decade.

2. The smallest decreases occurred in North Braddock, North Versailles, West Mifflin, and Duquesne. In each of these communities the representation of non-white persons between the ages of 20 to 44 years in the total non-white population declined by less than 4 percent.

D. With respect to the interval from 20 to 64 years of age, it is to be seen that the proportion of the non-white population within this group relative to the total non-white population declined in every one of the 13 communities.

1. In Forward Township, East Pittsburgh, Elizabeth, and Homestead the representation of this age group in the total non-white population declined more than 10 percent.

2. In Braddock Hills, North Versailles, and West Mifflin the decline of this group—the persons most likely to be active participants in the labor market—was no greater than one percent.

4. Implications:

A. The non-white population of the selected communities has aged between the period 1950 to 1960. Furthermore, it has been noted that the proportion of the non-white population most likely to be active and full-time members of the labor force has declined in every one of the selected communities. An aging population, accompanied by a decline in the proportion of persons in the most productive age groups, implies that the non-white population has become more dependent upon external or community-sponsored agencies for its support and maintenance.

B. The increase in the relative share of persons 19 years of age and under which occurred in most of the communities does not materially affect the conclusion that the non-white population has become more dependent upon the availability of social welfare assistance. In fact, since persons in this age group are hardly self-sufficient, it strengthens the contention of increased dependency.

1. The increase in the proportion of dependent persons, in the younger age categories, among the non-white populations in the Mon-Yough Region is likely to have challenged the opportunities which each community affords to the non-white, new entrant into the labor market.

2. Furthermore, the educational attainment levels and the quality of vocational preparation which such new entrants bring with them, as credentials attesting to their "employability" assume great importance

as variables likely to determine the economic and social success of these youths.

C. It appears reasonable to suggest that the community action committee's leadership should concern themselves with investigating the status of the non-white youth and the non-white aged in each of the communities to determine if their problems (assuming there are some) differ in degree or in kind from those associated with the white population. This undertaking is deemed especially necessary if it is believed that the problems of the non-white population do differ from the white population's problems, and that the expression of their problems has not been articulated.

Table VII shows the number of non-white persons per thousand white persons, by age group, in the communities of the Mon-Yough Region. The data are presented for 1950 and for 1960. This Table allows the decennial changes in the age and racial structures of the total population to be compared directly.

5. Highlights:

A. *The Situation in 1960*

1. The ten communities with the highest number of non-whites per 1000 whites in the youngest age group, 19 and under, arranged in descending order are: Rankin, Braddock, Clairton, Homestead, Duquesne, McKeesport, Braddock Hills, North Braddock, East Pittsburgh, and North Versailles.

The range is from 630 non-whites per 1000 whites in Rankin to 83 non-whites per 1000 whites in North Versailles.

There are eleven communities having less than 10 non-white persons per 1000 white persons in this age group. In alphabetical order, they are: Dravosburg, East McKeesport, Glassport, Lincoln, Munhall, Pitcairn, Port Vue, Trafford, Turtle Creek, Whitaker, and White Oak.

2. The ten communities with the highest ratio of non-white persons per 1000 white persons in the age group 20 to 44 years, arranged in descending order are: Rankin, Clairton, Braddock, Homestead, Duquesne, North Braddock, Braddock Hills, McKeesport, North Versailles, and Elizabeth.

The range is from 448 non-whites per 1000 whites in Rankin to 55 per 1000 in Elizabeth.

In ten communities, there are less than 10 non-white persons per 1000 white persons in this age group. In alphabetical order, they are: Dravosburg, East McKeesport, Glassport, Lincoln, Munhall, Pitcairn, Port Vue, Trafford, Turtle Creek, West Elizabeth, Whitaker, and White Oak.

3. The ten communities with the largest number of non-whites per

1000 whites in the age group of 45 to 64 years, in descending order, are: Rankin, Braddock, Clairton, Homestead, Braddock Hills, Duquesne, McKeesport, North Versailles, North Braddock, and Forward Township.

The range is from 526 non-whites per 1000 whites in Rankin to 54 per 1000 in Forward Township.

In ten communities, there are less than 10 non-white persons per 1000 white persons in the age group of 45 to 65 years. In alphabetical order, they are: Dravosburg, East McKeesport, Glassport, Lincoln, Munhall, Pitcairn, Port Vue, Trafford, Turtle Creek, and White Oak.

4. The eleven communities with the highest ratio of non-whites per 1000 whites in the "senior citizen" category, 64 years and over, are: Rankin, Braddock Hills, Braddock, Homestead, Clairton, Duquesne, North Versailles, Forward Township, East Pittsburgh, Elizabeth, and Elizabeth Township.

The range is from 357 in Rankin to 50 per 1000 in both Elizabeth and Elizabeth Township.

The ten communities in which the ratio is less than 10 per 1000 are: Dravosburg, East McKeesport, Glassport, Lincoln, Munhall, Pitcairn, Port Vue, Trafford, Turtle Creek, Wall, and White Oak.

B. *The Decennial Changes*

1. In eight of the 13 communities in which the non-white population represented at least 5 percent of the total population, the number of non-white persons per 1000 white persons increased throughout the four age groups. This occurred in Braddock, Clairton, Duquesne, East Pittsburgh, Homestead, McKeesport, North Braddock, and Rankin.

In North Versailles the ratio increased in three of the age groups, it remained constant in the age group of 19 years and under.

In the main, these communities are the ones in which the ratio of non-white to white persons were found to be the highest in 1960.

2. In Braddock Hills, another one of the communities with a high ratio of non-white persons per 1000 white persons in every age group for 1960, the number of non-whites per 1000 whites declined in three age groups from 1950 to 1960. The ratio increased only in the age group of 65 years and over.

3. In West Mifflin, one of two communities in which the proportion of non-whites in the total population declined from 1950 to 1960 while still remaining at or above 5 percent, the number of non-whites per 1000 whites declined within every age group.

6. Implications:

A. Since many activities either initiated or sponsored by the community action leaders will be directed toward ameliorating the economic and social distress of persons within broadly defined age groups, it is suggested that Table VII be used to identify the most likely instances in which the racial-mix of a given group will probably affect the nature and degree of demands that will be made upon any program for the given age group. Also, the data presented in Table VII may be used to identify the instances in which the needs of the non-white population might be different from the needs of the white population, once a program is decided upon for a given age group.

Table VIIa shows the number of persons under 5 years of age living in each of the communities in 1950 and 1960. This is the pre-school age population. The Table also shows the racial structure of the pre-school age population; it presents the percent of non-white children in each community for 1950 and 1960.

7. Highlights:

A. The number of pre-school age children increased in 12 communities between 1950 and 1960.

1. The largest absolute increase occurred in West Mifflin. In this community, there were 1,048 more children under 5 years of age in 1960 than there were in 1950.

2. The other communities which experienced an increase in the number of pre-school age children are, in descending order: Elizabeth Township, North Versailles, West Homestead, Munhall, White Oak, Liberty, Duquesne, Port Vue, Forward Township, Lincoln, and Trafford.

B. In the remaining communities, the number of pre-school age children declined from 1950 to 1960.

C. In three communities—Rankin, Braddock, and Clairton—the percent of non-whites in the 1960 population of children under 5 years of age exceeded 25 percent.

There were five other communities in which the percent of non-white children exceeded the average for the Region: Homestead (19.8), Duquesne, East Pittsburgh, McKeesport, and North Braddock (9.8).

D. In terms of changes in the racial structure of the pre-school population, there were 17 communities in which the percent of non-white children *increased* from 1950 to 1960.

There were four communities in which significant increases occurred, namely: Braddock, Clairton, East Pittsburgh, and Homestead. In each, the increase in the proportion of non-white children exceeded 5 percent; the largest increase was in Braddock.

1. There were 10 communities in which the percent of non-white children in the pre-school age population *declined* from 1950 to 1960. In these communities, with the exception of West Elizabeth, the changes in racial structure were not significant—i.e., less than 5 percent.

In West Elizabeth the percent of non-white children declined from 12.3 percent in 1950 to 1.9 percent in 1960.

2. In Dravosburg, Pitcairn, Trafford, and Whitaker there were no non-white children of pre-school age in 1950 and in 1960.

8. Implications:

A. In general, the quality of primary school education must receive consideration in every community—irrespective of changes in their enrollment and irrespective of the size of their student group. However, communities with an expanding enrollment must simultaneously provide the facilities that are necessary to accommodate the additional students.

It follows, that such communities are at a disadvantage relative to the communities in which primary school enrollment is decreasing. That is, the cost-burden associated with maintaining and improving levels of quality will be greater for the communities in which school enrollment is increasing. (This assumes an absence of economies of scale.)

B. The tasks of providing and financing public programs for securing pre-school acculturation is likely to be more urgent and greater in both the communities with a relatively high proportion of non-white children of pre-school age, and in communities in which the representation of non-whites in the relevant population is increasing.

D. POPULATION ETHNICITY

Table VIII of Appendix A, presents data to describe the ethnic character and structure of each community's population in 1960. The first two columns are measures of the relative size of the ethnic component; the third and fourth columns are measures of the homogeneity of the ethnic component, in terms of the relative representation of persons with an East-European reference.

1. Highlights:

A. There are seven communities in which the percent of population classified as "foreign stock" is at least 40 percent, namely: Duquesne, Glassport, Munhall, North Braddock, Wall, Whitaker, and Wilmerding.

1. Dravosburg is the community in which the percent of the total population considered to be "foreign stock" is the smallest. In this community, approximately one-fifth of the persons are so classified.

2. The percent of population classified as foreign stock is highest in Wall—47.2 percent.

B. The percent of "foreign born" persons in the population ranges from a low of 2.4 percent in Lincoln to a high of 15.2 percent in Wall. (The Mon-Yough portion of Trafford has no foreign born persons.)

1. In addition to Wall, only two communities have a foreign born component which exceeds 10 percent of their population: Duquesne and Wilmerding. The figure for each community is 10.8 percent and 10.4 percent, respectively. In five other communities, however, the proportion of population that is foreign born approximates 10 percent; namely: East Pittsburgh, Homestead, Munhall, Rankin, and Whitaker.

2. In Braddock Hills, Dravosburg, East McKeesport, Elizabeth, Forward Township, Lincoln, North Versailles, and White Oak the foreign born constitute less than 5 percent of the total population.

C. The community in which the influence of the foreign born persons upon the character of the ethnic component of the population is apt to be greatest is Wall. In this community, 32.2 percent of the total ethnic component is comprised of foreign born persons.

1. In Clairton, Duquesne, East Pittsburgh, Homestead, Pitcairn, Rankin and West Elizabeth the persons of foreign birth constitute from 25 to 30 percent of the total ethnic component present in each community.

2. The communities with the lowest percent of foreign born persons in their total ethnic component are Lincoln, Elizabeth, and White Oak. The figures are 11.8, 13.6, and 14.2, respectively.

D. In Port Vue and Rankin the proportion of the total ethnic component with a possible East-European reference/orientation is 62.6 and 63.6 percent, respectively.

1. In Liberty, Munhall, Wall, and Whitaker the proportion of the total ethnic component with a possible East-European reference/orientation lies between 50 and 60 percent.

In eight of the communities this element constitutes from 40 to 50 percent of the total ethnic component: Braddock, Dravosburg, Duquesne, Glassport, Homestead, McKeesport, West Homestead, and West Mifflin.

2. The East-European influence is lowest in West Elizabeth; less than 6 percent of this community's total ethnic component has its origin or immediate ancestry in Eastern Europe.

2. Implications:

A. The Mon-Yough Region, taken as a whole, has a larger share of foreign stock and foreign born persons in its population than does Allegheny County. However, in spite of the greater total representation of a foreign influence and heritage, the Region does not have a larger share of first-generation Americans within its total population of persons classified as foreign stock. On the other hand, it is to be noted that the Region's ethnic component is more homogeneous than the County's ethnic component. This is based upon the difference which obtains in the percent of East-Europeans represented in the total ethnic population of each area.

B. It is suggested that the presence of a "significant" ethnic component within a community may serve as a vehicle through which a community action program might obtain support and promote the dissemination of information that is favorable to its objectives.

It would behoove the community action program to assess and appraise the contribution which the ethnic components of the communities in the Mon-Yough Region might provide for the program's success.

The size and homogeneity of the ethnic component constitute the parameters within which the influence of ethnicity could be assessed and appraised.

E. EDUCATION

Table IX of Appendix A shows the educational attainment levels of adults, persons 25 years of age and older, in the communities of the Mon-Yough Region. The entries show the number of persons, from the 1960 population, who have attained the stated levels of formal education or their equivalents.

1. Highlights:

A. Of the total number of persons 25 years of age and older in Allegheny County, 11.3 percent reside in the Mon-Yough Region. This provides the reference against which the level of adult education in the Region is to be compared and assessed.

1. The Mon-Yough Region contains 13.1 percent of all persons 25 years of age and older in Allegheny County who possess less than an eighth-grade education.
2. With respect to the number of persons having completed from eight to eleven years of school, the Mon-Yough Region contains 11.7 percent of the total number of such persons in the County.
3. The Region's share of the County's adult population that has completed high school is 11.5 percent—this excludes all persons with more than a high school education.
4. Of the total population of persons in Allegheny County who have earned from one to three years of college training, only 8.7 percent reside in the Mon-Yough Region.

5. Among the total number of college graduates in the adult population of the County, the number residing in the Mon-Yough Region comprises only 5.6 percent.

B. When the adult population of the County is adjusted by the exclusion of the total number of persons age 25 years and older who reside in the City of Pittsburgh, the Mon-Yough Region contains 15.3 percent of the adjusted County adult population. This provides a second reference point, if not a more meaningful one since the County and City of Pittsburgh each have independent anti-poverty programs, for assessing the level of adult education that prevails in the Mon-Yough Region. Accordingly, of the total number of adults in the County-less-Pittsburgh area who have completed the given number of school years:

1. The Region has 18.3 percent of those with less than an eighth grade education; 11.7 percent of all persons with eight to eleven years of school; 14.8 percent of all high school graduates; 11.3 percent of those with some college training; and 7.3 percent of the college graduates.

2. Using high school completion as a "cut-off" point, the Mon-Yough Region contains 17 percent of adults in the County-less-Pittsburgh area who have attained less than a high school education; it contains 12.9 percent of all persons with a high school education or more.

2. Implications:

A. The educational attainment level of the adult population in the Mon-Yough Region is lower than the average level in the County. When the City of Pittsburgh is excluded, the difference in educational attainment levels between the Region and the remainder of the County's area becomes more disparate.

B. In terms of the reference points, the Mon-Yough Region has *more* than its proportionate share of adults with less than a high school education; it has *less* than its proportionate share of persons with a high school education or more.

C. The differences in educational attainment levels indicate that the need for adult-remedial education is greater in the Region than in the County as a whole. This leads to the suggestion that the Mon-Yough Region may wish to give greater emphasis and accord higher priority to eliminating basic educational deficiencies than might be expected of the County.

Table X of Appendix A, shows the percent distribution of the educational attainment level, in years of school completed, for the adult population in each community. Data are presented for 1950 and 1960.

3. Highlights:

A. *The Situation in 1960*

1. With respect to the percent of the adult population having completed 7-or-less years of school, the range extends from 15.1 percent in White Oak to 39.4 percent in Wall.

In seven other communities, in addition to White Oak, the percent of the adult population with no more than 7 years of schooling was less than 20 percent of the total. In ascending order, they are: East McKeesport, North Versailles, West Mifflin, Dravosburg, Braddock Hills, Liberty, and Munhall.

There are five communities in which 30 percent or more of the adult population had no more than 7 years of schooling. In descending order, they are: Wall, Rankin, Braddock, Duquesne, and East Pittsburgh.

2. With respect to the percent of the adult population having completed from 8 to 11 years of school, the range extends from a low of 33.5 percent in White Oak to a high of 51.2 percent in the Mon-Yough portion of Trafford.

The seven communities which follow White Oak, in ascending order, are: Elizabeth, Clairton, Duquesne, Glassport, Rankin, Braddock Hills, and East McKeesport. The range for these seven communities extends from 34.9 percent in Elizabeth to 38.0 percent in East McKeesport.

There are five communities in which 45 percent or more of the adult population had completed from eight to eleven years of school. In descending order, they are: Trafford, Versailles, West Elizabeth, Forward Township, and Whitaker.

3. The community with the lowest percentage of its adult population having less than a high school education was White Oak: 48.6 percent. This means that 51.4 percent of this community's adult population in 1960 had, at least, a high school education.

The community with the highest percentage of its population having less than a high school education was Wall. In this community, 82.5 percent of all persons 25 years of age and over had completed less than 12 years of school. This is equivalent to saying that 17.5 percent of the adult population in Wall had, at least, a high school education.

4. The 10 communities that rank low in respect to the proportion of adult population with at least a high school education were, in ascending order: Wall, Port Vue, Whitaker, Forward Township, Braddock, Rankin, West Elizabeth, Versailles, East Pittsburgh, and McKeesport. In the tenth, McKeesport, 31.4 percent of the adult population were at least graduates from high school.

5. The proportion of college graduates in the adult populations of the Mon-Yough communities is low. Representation of college graduates is highest in White Oak; 9.2 percent of all persons 25 years of age and over in this community, in 1960, were college graduates. In four other communities—Elizabeth, Munhall, Elizabeth Township, and East McKeesport—the proportion of college graduates is over 5 but less than 6 percent. The figure is below 5 percent for the remaining communities within the Region.

B. *Changes Between 1950 and 1960*

1. Between 1950 and 1960 there was an upward shift of the educational attainment level in the adult population of the Mon-Yough Region below the college level.

In 27 communities the proportion of persons age 25 years and over with less than an eighth-grade education decreased.

East Pittsburgh, Elizabeth, Pitcairn, and Turtle Creek are the exceptions to this change. In each of these communities, the proportion of the adult population with less than an eighth-grade education increased between 1950 and 1960.

a) In every community, excepting Elizabeth, the proportion of the adult population having completed at least 12 years of school was increased from 1950 to 1960. In Elizabeth, the proportion remained approximately the same.

b) In 24 communities the proportion of the adult population with more than a high school education either increased, but only slightly, or stayed the same. Braddock, Elizabeth, Trafford, Versailles, Wall, Whittaker, and Wilmerding are the seven communities in which the proportion of persons in the adult population with some college training (1 to 3 years) decreased.

c) In 18 communities the proportion of college graduates in the adult population decreased.

4. Implications:

A. The educational attainment level of the adult population within the communities of the Mon-Yough Region was improved from 1950 to 1960. This improvement is reflected by the increase in the proportion of the adults who completed from 8 to 12 years of school; it is particularly reflected by the increase in the proportion of adults who had completed or gained the equivalent of a high school education.

In the main, there appear to be two factors that are principally responsible for this improvement. First, one may posit that each community shared in the national trend of increasing years of schooling completed by persons entering the adult population. Second, the natural decrease of older persons—among whom the average educational attainment level is likely to be relatively low—further contributes to the increase in the general educational attainment level of a community.

It follows from this that one should expect the greater proportion of any group of persons characterized as having a "low level of education" to be older persons. In particular, this reasoning permits one to offer the following generalization: given the total adult population of persons between the ages of 25 years to 64 years, persons normally expected to be committed to a high degree of participation in the labor force, the average level of educational attainment associated with any age group selected from this range will be declining as the age of the group increases. If nothing else, this implies that older persons in the labor force (those between the ages of 45 to 64 years) will be at an increasing disadvantage when competing for *new* employment positions against an increasing number of younger and better educated persons.

B. Of the total number of communities in the Mon-Yough Region, there were *five* in which the older members of the labor force appear as least likely to be competitive with younger persons—if educational attainment is an attribute that is associated with success in the market place for new jobs. These communities—Forward Township, Glassport, Turtle Creek, West Homestead, and Whitaker—are the ones in which the proportion of older workers in the total population of adults is high; these are, also, the communities in which the average educational attainment level of the adult population is low.

Thus, these are the communities which should receive high priority in any adult remedial-education program that might be undertaken in the Region.

1. The five communities were identified by matching the communities in which the proportion of the adult population possessing less than a high school education was greater than the average for the Mon-Yough Region *with* the communities in which the proportion of the older population of labor force age exceeded the average for the Region.

a) In the Region, 64 percent of all persons 25 years of age and over had attained less than a high school education. In each of the five communities, this proportion was greater.

b) In the Region, 71 percent of the population of persons between 20 to 64 years of age were between the ages of 45 to 64 years. In each of the five communities, this proportion was greater.

F. INTER-PERSONAL DEPENDENCY AND FAMILY INCOME

Table XI of Appendix A, presents a total population dependency ratio; a ratio of dependency for the white component of the population;

and a ratio for the non-white component of the population. The data are presented for the years 1950 and 1960. In addition, the Table shows the labor force dependency ratio in 1960 for each community—irrespective of race.

The *population dependency ratio* is obtained by dividing the total population under consideration by the number of persons in the relevant population who are between the ages of 20 to 64 years. The measure obtained shows the number of persons whose support is likely to be derived from someone's participation in the labor market. The ratio assumes that all persons between 20 and 64 years of age are the sole participants in the labor force; it assumes that persons age 65 years and older are not in the labor force; and, it does not consider the possibility of a person's support being derived solely from retirement annuities, property income, or public assistance. Furthermore, it assumes that persons under 20 years of age are neither capable of fully supporting themselves nor full-time members of the labor force.

The *labor force dependency ratio* differs from the population dependency ratio. It is a measure which shows the number of persons in the total population that are dependent for support on the actual number of persons who are labor force participants. (A labor force participant is at least 14 years of age; employed and unemployed persons are included.)

1. Highlights:

A. The population dependency ratio for the total population was higher in 1960 than in 1950 for every community.

1. A comparison of the 1960 and 1950 figures shows an increase of 25 or more persons dependent for their support upon every 100 possible labor force participants in eleven communities: Port Vue, Glassport, Lincoln, West Elizabeth, Munhall, Clairton, Wall, White Oak, Rankin, North Braddock, and McKeesport. The communities are presented in descending order.

2. The six communities with the highest population dependency ratios in 1960 were, in descending order: Port Vue, Wall, West Elizabeth, Lincoln, and Liberty and Clairton.

B. The population dependency ratio for the *white component* of each community's population increased in 30 communities between 1950 and 1960. The exception was Braddock Hills. In this community the population dependency ratio declined from 1.90 in 1950 to 1.89 in 1960.

1. There was an increase of 25 or more dependent persons per 100 possible labor force participants in the following communities: Port Vue, Glassport, West Elizabeth, Clairton, McKeesport, Lincoln, Munhall, White Oak, North Braddock, and Wall.

2. The five communities exhibiting the highest white, 1960 dependency ratios were, in descending order: Port Vue, West Elizabeth, Wall, Lincoln, and Liberty.

C. There are 15 communities with a non-white population of 100 or more persons, both in 1950 and 1960. Where the non-white population is less than 100 in either year, changes in the dependency ratio are not deemed meaningful. Thus, the communities which qualify for examination are: Braddock Hills, Braddock, Clairton, Duquesne, Elizabeth, Elizabeth Township, Forward Township, Homestead, McKeesport, North Braddock, North Versailles, Rankin, West Homestead, West Mifflin, and Wilmerding.

In each of these communities the non-white population dependency ratio was increased between 1950 and 1960.

1. In West Homestead, Forward Township, West Mifflin, Elizabeth, Wilmerding, Braddock, Rankin, Homestead, McKeesport, and Clairton there was an increase of 25 or more non-white persons dependent upon every possible 100 non-white labor force participants. The listing of communities is in descending order of increase.

a) In West Homestead the increase was 72 dependents per 100; in Forward Township the increase was 69 dependents per 100.

b) In eight of these communities (McKeesport and Clairton being the exceptions), the increase in the non-white dependency ratio was greater than the increase in the dependency ratio for the white component of the given communities.

2. In six of the 15 selected communities, the 1960 non-white dependency ratio was 2.00 or higher. In descending order, they were: Forward Township, West Mifflin, Elizabeth, North Versailles, and Elizabeth Township. In each of these communities the non-white dependency ratio exceeded the ratio for the white component of the population.

a) In fact, the non-white dependency ratio for 1960 exceeds the white dependency ratio for 1960 in almost every community within the Mon-Yough Region. Given the communities for which data were available, it is to be seen that only in Glassport, Liberty, Whitaker, and Wilmerding does the ratio for the non-white component lie below the ratio for the white component.

D. An examination of the *labor force* dependency ratios for 1960 shows an average for the Region which is greater than the average for the County.

1. In thirteen communities the labor force dependency ratio exceeded the average for the Region.

Table XII of Appendix A, shows the distribution of family income, by three broad classes, for 1960. The Table shows the number of family units in each community and the percent which this number represents of all family units in the community, as distributed among the three income classes. The income figure includes personal, business, and government transfer payments as well as income earned from the family's participation in the market place. The income figure applies to the calendar year 1959, but the composition of families relates to April 1960.

> "A family consists of two or more persons living in the same household and related to one another by blood, marriage, or adoption; all persons living in one household and related to one another are considered as one family."
>
> "Family income represents, as a single amount, the combined income of the head of the family and all other members of the family 14 years old and over. . . . The figures represent the amount of income received before deductions for personal income taxes, social security, bond purchases, union dues, etc."

Assuming the availability of a national or regional poverty standard, adequate family maintenance and family sufficiency is a function of the size of the family unit, the number of wage earners and property owners contributing to the family's support, and the total income accruing to the family unit. If personal tastes and price level fluctuations are ruled out, the relevant criterion for assessing the incidence of poverty in a community, given that the family constitutes the basic social and economic unit of analysis, is the average annual per capita family income. To be particularly relevant for inter-family comparisons, this criterion must not include money receipts that have their source in public assistance payments. Also, money receipts which accrue to the family unit from its members' participation in the market place that is induced by the unit's economic deprivation ought to be excluded. Furthermore, the gross income figure for the family unit ought to reflect only the relatively permanent and "socially" expected contributions of persons fully-committed to the market place. This is to suggest that the income earned and contributed to the family unit as a result of the "casual" employment of youths and the aged should be excluded when measuring the incidence of poverty among family units in a community.

The incidence of poverty in the Mon-Yough Region, either in terms of the number of families or the number of persons in each community, cannot be deduced from the data presented in Table XII.

The Table permits an identification of the communities in which the incidence of family poverty is *likely* to be high, however. It seems reasonable, as an approximation to the desired end, to suggest that the incidence of family poverty is high in communities where a high percentage of the family units have less than an annual money income from all sources that is below $3,000. However, it needs to be emphasized, that *this* family income level is not an adequate criterion for determining the incidence of poverty—e.g., (1) poverty may exist in the family unit with more than $3,000 gross income per year, and (2) poverty may not exist in a family unit with gross income of less than $3,000 per year,

A. If the poverty communities are identified by using, as a benchmark, the percent of the total families in Allegheny County who live outside the City of Pittsburgh and have less than $3,000 of gross income it is found that 20 Mon-Yough communities are *likely* to have a high incidence of poverty among their families.

If the benchmark for identification is the entire County, then 19 communities are likely to have a high incidence of poverty among their families.

If the benchmark is provided by the figure for the Region itself, then 16 communities emerge as the ones with a high incidence of poverty among their families.

1. There are seven Mon-Yough communities in which the number of families with income of less than $3,000 per year (1959) constitutes more than 20 percent of the total number of families in each community. In descending order, they are: Rankin, Braddock, Wall, West Elizabeth, East Pittsburgh, Homestead, and North Braddock.

B. A broadening of the poverty level for families to include the percent of families with income that is less than $7,000 per year yields the following:

There are 30 communities in which the percent of total family units with less than $7,000 per year exceeds the percent for the area described as Allegheny County-less-Pittsburgh;

There are 29 communities in which the percent of total family units with less than $7,000 per year exceeds the percent for Allegheny County;

There are 20 communities in which the percent of total family units with less than $7,000 per year exceeds the average for the Mon-Yough Region.

1. There are six Mon-Yough communities in which the number of families with income of less than $7,000 per year (1959) constitutes 75 percent or more of the total number of families in each community. In descending order, they are: Wall, Braddock, West Elizabeth, Rankin, the Mon-Yough portion of Trafford, and North Braddock.

2. Implications:

A. The data presented in Tables XI and XII, when related to one another, allow a more accurate specification of the communities which are likely to have a high incidence of poverty among their family units than is possible to infer by taking them into consideration separately.

Where the population dependency ratio is high, a large average family size may be inferred. Now, if there is a large proportion of families with "low" annual income in any community *and* if the average family size in the community is large, it becomes reasonable to suggest that this is a community in which the incidence of family poverty is relatively high.

B. A comparison of the 15 communities having high population dependency ratios with the 15 communities having a large proportion of their families with less than $3,000 annual income identifies seven communities in which the incidence of family poverty is likely to be high. They are: Braddock, Clairton, McKeesport, North Braddock, Rankin, Wall, and West Elizabeth.

C. If the income range is extended to the $7,000 annual income limit, *the same seven communities plus Elizabeth and Forward Township become identified as the communities within the Mon-Yough Region in which the incidence of family poverty is deemed relatively high.*

G. ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY

Table XIII of Appendix A, shows how the employed persons in each community were distributed among three types of employment arrangements in two major sectors of economic activity—public and private. The persons employed in the public sector are employees of governmental units (Federal, State, City, etc.) who work for wages or salaries. The persons employed in the private sector are either wage and salary workers, self-employed with a residual claim against the profits of their establishments, or unpaid family workers of the self-employed.

Table XIIIa of Appendix A, shows the percent of the employed labor force, within each of the communities, that work in the City of Pittsburgh. This does not imply that all of the remainder of the Mon-Yough labor force work within the Region.

Persons employed as wage and salary workers in private industry may be regarded as the most dependent members of a community's labor force. The continuation of this type of employment arrangement, irrespective of any seniority rights, is contingent upon variations in the level of industrial activity, the state of industrial technology, and other economic forces which are largely beyond the personal control of the individual wage and salary worker. The government employee, also a wage and salary worker, enjoys a measure of employment security that is greater than that of the private wage and salary worker. This is so, because the variability of employment is largely a political decision and less likely to be the result of fluctuations in the level of demand for government services that have their origin in market forces.

The economic security of the self-employed, measured either in terms of earnings or in terms of the probability attached to the expected duration of the enterprise's life, may be no greater than that of the private wage and salary worker. However, the relevant distinguishing characteristic is that the self-employed is a relatively independent person; he has greater personal control over his environment than does the wage and salary worker in private industry or the wage and salary worker of the governmental unit. The unpaid family worker is of no special significance—he constitutes a very small proportion of the labor force, and his participation in the labor force is often not motivated by the necessity to support other persons.

1. Highlights:

A. A comparison of the sector-distribution of employed persons in the Region with the County reveals that the Region's labor force is more dependent than the County's labor force. The Region's labor force is slightly more concentrated in the private sector, but more than a slight difference exists between the proportion of the Region's labor force employed as wage and salary workers in private industry than is found to obtain in the County as a whole.

B. There are 20 communities in which the percent of persons employed as wage and salary workers in private industry is equal to or greater than the average for the Region.

1. The 10 communities with a high percent of persons in the wage and salary class within private industry are, in descending order: Wall, Braddock Hills, North Braddock, Glassport, Turtle Creek, West Mifflin, East Pittsburgh, Braddock, Port Vue, and Homestead. (Trafford portion of the Region is excluded.)

In Wall, Braddock Hills, and North Braddock the percent of employed persons classified as wage and salary workers in private industry is 90 percent or more.

2. The two communities with a low percentage of workers classified as wage and salary employees of private industry are West Elizabeth and White Oak. The figures are 78.7 percent and 80.3 percent, respectively. These are the only communities in which the figure lies below the average for Allegheny County.

C. It is apparent, from the data contained in Table XIIIa, that employment in Pittsburgh is mainly a function of the community's distance from the City. The employment-status of these workers is not directly affected by changes in the level of industrial activity that are confined to the Mon-Yough Region.

2. Implications:

A. According to the argument presented, it follows that the higher is the proportion of a community's labor force that is engaged as wage and salary workers in private industry the greater is the *probable* vulnerability of this community to higher rates of unemployment. In unqualified terms this statement of an expected relationship between high labor market dependency and high unemployment rates is to be regarded as a mere suggestion; posited only for the purpose of "narrowing-down" the range of communities in which the activities of community action to prevent and ameliorate economic impoverishment are likely to be most necessary.

More will be done with the data presented in Table XIII after the presentation of the Highlights of Tables XIV, XV, and XVI. See Implications.

Tables XIV, XV, and XVI of Appendix A, show the occupational classifications of the employed labor force in 1960. The first shows the occupational distribution of the total labor force that was employed and that reported an occupation; the second shows the occupational distribution for employed males; the third shows the occupational distribution of employed females. Table XIVa shows the absolute size of the employed labor force for each community in 1960; the data are presented by sex.

The occupational profile of the employed labor force, it must be noted, is largely a reflection of the labor-input requirements and the level of employment in industry prevailing in the labor market for the Mon-Yough Region at the time of the Census enumeration. The occupational profile may be used to draw inferences about the quality of the labor force in each community. One may generalize about the personal attributes of educational attainment levels, industrial training, and vocational experience that are likely to be correlates of a given occupational class.

3. Highlights:

A. *Total Labor Force*

1. The professional and managerial group comprises the best educated and trained component of the labor force. The incidence of unemployment is lowest for this class of workers; the duration of unemployment for a person in the professional and managerial class is likely to be shortest.

The communities with a relatively high percentage of professional and managerial workers are, in alphabetical order: Dravosburg, East McKeesport, Elizabeth, Elizabeth Township, Liberty, Munhall, Pitcairn, West Elizabeth, and White Oak. In each, more than 15 percent of the employed labor force who reported an occupation were classified as members of this group.

2. The sales and clerical group is more likely to be composed of persons who have completed at least eight years of school. However, there is likely to be a high proportion of high school graduates within this group. In terms of employment stability, this segment of the white-collar labor force is likely to be less subject to unemployment than the members of the blue-collar labor force and the incidence of long-term unemployment is likely to be less for this group than it is for the blue-collar.

The communities in which the proportion of sales and clerical workers exceeds 25 per cent of the employed labor force are, in alphabetical order: Dravosburg, East McKeesport, Elizabeth, Munhall, and Wilmerding. (Trafford is excluded.)

3. The craftsmen are the best trained and best educated members of the blue-collar labor force. They have the most stable employment pattern of all blue-collar workers, and they are least likely to experience periods of long-term unemployment among the total blue-collar labor force. Their annual earnings are generally higher than those of the sales and clerical group; and the proportion of primary workers (heads of families or households) is likely to be greater in this group than among the sales and clerical workers.

The communities in which the proportion of craftsmen exceeds 25 percent of the employed labor force are, in alphabetical order: Elizabeth Township, Forward Township, Liberty, West Mifflin, and Whitaker.

4. The operatives, service workers, and laborers are the members of the labor force who are likely to be the least educated and least trained. Workers in these groups are the ones that are likely to experience the most frequent periods of unemployment; also, the incidence of long-term unemployment is likely to be highest for these groups. Furthermore, in contrast to all other occupational groups, the socio-economic status of operatives, service workers, and laborers is likely to be low in any community.

There are seven communities in which the proportion of the employed labor force classified as operatives, service workers, or laborers exceeded 45 percent. In alphabetical order: Braddock, East Pittsburgh, Forward Township, Lincoln, North Braddock, Rankin, and Wall.

B. *Male Labor Force*

1. In Braddock, Lincoln, North Braddock, Rankin, and Wall more than 50 percent of the employed males were classified as being operatives, service workers, or laborers.

C. *Female Labor Force*

1. In Rankin, 35.5 percent of all employed females were classified as white-collar workers. This was the lowest.

The community with the highest proportion of female white-collar workers was White Oak. In this community, 80 percent of its employed women were white-collar workers.

4. Implications:

A. The occupational structure of the labor force in any community is largely outside of the control of the community action leadership. However, a community action program may be undertaken to enable particular individuals or groups of individuals to qualify for lateral movement or for up-grading within the hierarchy-of-skills that exists in the given labor market or in markets outside the Region. As such, it is very likely that one principal client-type who may solicit the assistance of a community action program or who may be sought-out by a community action undertaking will be from the lowest position of the hierarchy-of-skills.

Thus, it may be said that the need for and the demand for the services of a community action program are likely to be high in communities with a high proportion of its labor force in the operative, service worker, and laborer classifications. These are the workers with the greatest vulnerability to the uncertainties of economic change. They are the most economically dependent persons in the labor force of a community; they are most likely to constitute a significant proportion of the unemployed in any community, and they are probably the ones that are least capable of "financing" themselves through periods of unemployment without great difficulty.

1. By matching the communities with a high percentage of their total labor force in these occupational classes against the listing of communities in which a high proportion of the labor force was employed as wage and salary workers in private industry, it becomes possible to identify *the communities in the Region in which labor force dependency is highest. The eight communities that are so designated, in alphabetical order, are: Braddock, East Pittsburgh, Glassport, Homestead, North Braddock, Rankin, Turtle Creek, and Wall.*

B. The professional and managerial group, together with the sales and clerical group, constitutes the white-collar labor force. This is the group that is likely to enjoy a relatively high socio-economic position in a community. Also, this is the group that is probably the most capable of formulating and articulating its points of view concerning the state of poverty which it may believe exists within the community. Communication between members of this group and the community action leaders is going to be high.

Paradoxically, their conception of community "needs"—with respect to the elimination or prevention of poverty in the community—is likely to be different from the conceptions of poverty among the blue-collar segment of the community, the ones with probably the greatest need-state. This is the group that is least able to formulate and articulate points of view about poverty, in general or in particular. The white-collar group is likely to be community-oriented; their picture of poverty will focus upon deficiencies of facilities in the community, and not upon the personal needs and problems of the more economically dependent.

Thus, the community action leaders of the Mon-Yough Region are advised to evaluate carefully the recommendations which they may receive from the various communities they are to serve. Furthermore, the community action leaders of the Region are advised to develop and to encourage the use of a communication-network that will give to the less articulate an opportunity for expression of their needs. Also, the community action leaders of the Region should take the initiative in studying and ascertaining the need for anti-poverty projects that may be necessary in the Region as a whole or in a single community within the Region.

H. THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT

Table XVII of Appendix A, shows how employees of the manufacturing sector are distributed among the major industry groups within the sector and which are located in the Mon-Yough Region. The employment figures reflect the total volume of employment that is offered by manufacturing firms located in the Region. It must be noted, however, that all persons from the Mon-Yough communities who are employed in manufacturing are not necessarily employed by the firms that are located within the Region. The data are presented for 1963, 1960, 1957, and 1930.

Table XVIIa of Appendix A, shows how the total number of manufacturing firms that are located within the Region are distributed among the major industry groups, for the years 1963, 1960, 1957, and 1930.

1. Highlights:

A. The current volume of employment offered by the manufacturing sector represents from 60 to 65 percent of the total labor force in the entire Mon-Yough Region.

1. The absolute number of jobs available in manufacturing has declined steadily from 1957. From this, given the large net outward-migration of persons of labor force age from the Region, one may infer

that the proportion of the labor force that finds employment in manufacturing has been declining.

B. The principal manufacturing employer is the primary metals industry. It accounts for over 50 percent of all current jobs in manufacturing activity going on in the Region. This industry's position of dominance extends throughout the period for which the data are presented.

1. In 1963 there were 12 firms engaged in the primary metals industry; this represents 7 percent of all the manufacturing employers located in the Region.

C. The second largest source of employment in manufacturing is provided by the electrical machinery industry. This industry accounts for about 20 percent of all manufacturing jobs in the Region.

1. In 1963 there were 4 firms engaged in the production of electrical machinery; this represents less than 3 percent of all manufacturing employers in the Region.

D. The metal-dependent industries—firms whose locations in the Mon-Yough Region result from the presence of the primary metal producers—provide employment for approximately 40 percent of the persons involved in manufacturing activities. This pattern of employment has been relatively stable during the 33-year period for which data are presented.

E. In the aggregate, the metal industries employ more than 90 percent of the manufacturing labor force at work in the Region.

This means that the metal industries' employment volume is about equal to 60 percent of the total size of the labor force in the entire Mon-Yough Region. This pattern has been unaltered from 1963.

2. Implications:

A. Manufacturing is the principal source of employment for a major portion of the Mon-Yough labor force. The manufacturing activity is highly concentrated within a single type of industry, and there is a particular lack of industrial diversification in the Region. Furthermore, in addition to employment concentration the employment status of persons in the manufacturing sector of the Region is greatly contingent upon the decisions of a relatively small number of employers.

The industrial environment constitutes a given to the community action leaders. Events within the industrial environment are largely outside of the influence of community action programs, but the nature of the environment has important implications for the community action program. First, the community action leaders are advised to establish a communication-network with the dominant firms operating in the manufacturing sector. This should enable the community action program *to plan activities* that would be needed as a response to untoward economic changes, and *to reduce* the economic and social dislocations that are associated with such changes with a minimum of delay.

Second, the community action leaders are advised to secure the cooperation of employers and *new* employers in the Region to better plan and prepare for the effective utilization of the Region's manpower. It is by keeping informed about the prospective changes in the demand for labor that the community-action programs can be expected to make a significant contribution to the prevention of economic and social dislocation within the Region. In line with this objective, then, the community action leaders are urged to establish and to maintain contact with all organizations that are involved with changing the structure of the Region's economic environment.

APPENDIX A

TABLE I

POPULATION AND POPULATION CHANGE BY COMMUNITY

Community	1960	1950	Change	% Change
Braddock Hills	2,414	1,965	+ 449	+ 22.8
Braddock	12,337	16,488	— 4,151	— 25.2
Clairton	18,389	19,652	— 1,263	— 06.4
Dravosburg	3,458	3,786	— 328	— 08.7
Duquesne	15,019	17,620	— 2,601	— 14.8
E. McKeesport	3,470	3,171	+ 299	+ 09.4
E. Pittsburgh	4,122	5,259	— 1,137	— 21.6
Elizabeth	2,597	2,615	— 18	— 00.7
Elizabeth Twp.	14,159	9,978	+ 4,181	+ 41.9
Forward Twp.	4,692	4,292	+ 400	+ 09.3
Glassport	8,418	8,707	— 289	— 03.3
Homestead	7,502	10,046	— 2,544	— 25.3
Liberty	3,624	1,467	+ 2,157	+147.0
Lincoln	1,686	1,900	— 214	— 11.3
McKeesport	45,489	50,402	— 4,913	— 09.7
Munhall	17,312	16,437	+ 875	+ 05.3
N. Braddock	13,204	14,724	— 1,520	— 10.3
N. Versailles	13,583	9,821	+ 3,762	+ 38.3
Pitcairn	5,383	5,857	— 474	— 08.1
Port Vue	6,635	4,756	+ 1,879	+ 25.3
Rankin	5,164	6,941	— 1,777	— 25.6
Trafford	140	154	— 14	— 09.1
Turtle Creek	10,607	12,363	— 1,756	— 14.2
Versailles	2,297	2,484	— 187	— 07.5
Wall	1,493	1,850	— 357	— 19.3
W. Elizabeth	921	1,137	— 216	— 19.0
W. Homestead	4,155	3,257	+ 898	+ 27.6
W. Mifflin	27,289	17,985	+ 9,304	+ 51.7
Whitaker	2,130	2,149	— 19	— 00.9
White Oak	9,047	6,159	+ 2,888	+ 46.9
Wilmerding	4,349	5,325	— 976	— 18.3
Mon-Yough	271,085	268,745	+ 2,340	+ 00.8
Allegheny County	1,628,587	1,515,237	+113,350	+ 07.5

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE II
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY COMMUNITY

Community	1960 19–	20–44	45–64	65+	1950 19–	20–44	45–64	65+
Braddock Hills	977	808	466	163	736	811	250	168
Braddock	4,373	3,866	2,821	1,306	5,271	6,720	3,413	1,114
Clairton	6,954	5,398	4,044	1,515	6,773	8,119	3,735	976
Dravosburg	1,197	1,083	833	245	1,315	1,550	691	230
Duquesne	5,061	4,785	3,631	1,751	5,282	7,250	3,873	1,174
E. McKeesport	1,191	1,108	832	339	1,008	1,230	679	279
E. Pittsburgh	1,335	1,260	1,064	463	1,525	2,056	1,210	381
Elizabeth	857	801	601	338	790	969	595	259
Elizabeth Twp.	5,559	4,855	2,786	958	3,530	3,926	1,826	696
Forward Twp.	1,944	1,575	839	334	1,669	1,656	693	274
Glassport	3,087	2,829	1,790	712	2,970	4,127	1,786	565
Homestead	2,171	2,278	1,953	1,009	2,776	4,071	2,355	864
Liberty	1,448	1,170	686	181	634	535	227	71
Lincoln	707	592	266	121	683	868	268	81
McKeesport	14,957	13,398	11,136	5,438	14,948	20,394	11,808	4,311
Munhall	5,664	5,563	4,216	1,867	4,748	7,311	3,761	1,296
N. Braddock	4,586	4,102	2,753	1,332	4,860	6,007	2,844	967
N. Versailles	5,412	4,757	2,490	696	3,664	4,250	1,604	482
Pitcairn	1,762	1,732	1,253	635	1,771	2,257	1,353	475
Port Vue	2,708	2,215	1,090	356	1,670	2,176	706	161
Rankin	1,923	1,635	1,074	532	2,338	2,849	1,378	378
Trafford	43	51	29	17	51	70	26	7
Turtle Creek	3,822	3,407	2,414	954	4,224	4,949	2,424	763
Versailles	752	741	532	281	746	1,014	505	218
Wall	570	460	291	172	648	720	359	123
W. Elizabeth	340	287	176	118	381	433	236	87
W. Homestead	1,537	1,494	823	300	975	1,329	693	255
W. Mifflin	10,997	9,838	5,176	1,278	6,715	7,670	2,823	776
Whitaker	693	694	545	198	706	875	428	139
White Oak	3,270	2,975	2,115	697	2,070	2,455	1,612	355
Wilmerding	1,389	1,356	1,054	550	1,532	2,182	1,145	437
Mon-Yough	97,275	87,472	59,779	24,856	87,018	110,828	52,147	18,362
Allegheny County	580,865	531,413	360,393	155,916	463,416	605,177	328,581	118,063

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY COMMUNITY

	1960				1950			
Community	19–	20–44	45–64	65+	19–	20–44	45–64	65+
Braddock Hills	40.5	33.4	19.3	06.8	37.4	41.3	12.7	08.5
Braddock	35.4	31.3	22.9	10.6	32.0	40.8	20.7	06.8
Clairton	37.8	29.4	22.0	08.2	34.5	41.3	19.0	05.0
Dravosburg	34.6	31.3	24.1	07.1	34.7	40.9	18.3	06.1
Duquesne	33.7	31.9	24.2	11.7	30.0	41.1	22.0	06.7
E. McKeesport	34.3	31.9	24.0	09.8	31.8	38.8	21.4	08.8
E. Pittsburgh	32.4	30.6	25.8	11.2	29.0	39.1	23.0	07.2
Elizabeth	33.0	30.8	23.1	13.0	30.2	37.1	22.8	09.9
Elizabeth Twp.	39.3	34.3	19.7	06.8	35.4	39.3	18.3	07.0
Forward Twp.	41.4	33.6	17.9	07.1	38.9	38.6	16.1	06.4
Glassport	36.7	33.6	21.3	08.5	34.1	47.4	20.5	06.5
Homestead	28.9	30.4	26.0	13.4	27.6	40.5	23.4	08.6
Liberty	40.0	32.3	18.9	05.0	43.2	36.5	15.5	04.8
Lincoln	41.9	35.1	15.8	07.2	35.9	45.7	14.1	04.3
McKeesport	32.9	29.5	24.5	12.0	29.7	40.5	23.4	08.6
Munhall	32.7	32.1	24.4	10.8	28.9	44.5	22.9	07.9
N. Braddock	34.7	31.1	20.8	10.1	33.0	40.8	19.3	06.6
N. Versailles	39.8	35.0	18.3	05.1	37.3	43.3	16.3	04.9
Pitcairn	32.7	32.2	23.3	11.8	30.2	38.5	23.1	08.1
Port Vue	40.8	33.4	16.4	05.4	35.1	45.8	14.8	03.4
Rankin	37.2	31.7	20.8	10.3	33.7	41.0	19.9	05.4
Trafford	30.7	36.4	20.7	12.1	33.1	45.5	16.9	04.5
Turtle Creek	36.0	32.1	22.8	09.0	34.2	40.0	19.6	06.2
Versailles	32.7	32.2	23.2	12.2	30.0	40.8	20.3	08.8
Wall	38.2	30.8	19.5	11.5	35.0	38.9	19.4	06.6
W. Elizabeth	36.9	31.2	19.1	12.8	33.5	38.1	20.8	07.7
W. Homestead	37.0	36.0	19.8	07.2	29.9	40.8	21.3	07.8
W. Mifflin	40.3	36.1	19.0	04.7	37.3	42.6	15.7	04.3
Whitaker	32.5	32.6	25.6	09.3	32.9	40.7	19.9	06.5
White Oak	36.1	32.9	23.4	07.7	33.6	39.9	26.2	05.8
Wilmerding	31.9	31.2	24.2	12.6	28.8	41.0	21.5	08.2
Mon-Yough	35.9	32.3	22.1	09.2	32.4	41.2	19.4	06.8
Allegheny County	35.7	32.6	22.1	09.6	30.6	39.9	21.7	07.8

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE IIIa

RATE OF POPULATION CHANGE FROM 1950 TO 1960 BY AGE GROUP AND BY COMMUNITY

Community	19—	20–44	45–64	65+
Braddock Hills	+ 32.7	— 00.4	+ 86.4	— 03.0
Braddock	— 17.0	— 42.5	— 17.3	+ 17.2
Clairton	+ 02.7	— 33.5	+ 08.3	+ 55.2
Dravosburg	— 09.0	— 30.1	+ 20.5	+ 06.5
Duquesne	— 04.2	— 34.0	— 06.2	+ 49.1
E. McKeesport	+ 18.2	+ 09.9	+ 22.5	+ 21.5
E. Pittsburgh	— 12.5	— 38.7	— 12.1	+ 21.5
Elizabeth	+ 08.5	— 17.3	+ 01.0	+ 30.5
Elizabeth Twp.	+ 57.5	+ 23.7	+ 52.6	+ 37.6
Forward Twp.	+ 16.5	— 04.9	+ 21.1	+ 21.9
Glassport	+ 03.9	— 31.5	+ 00.2	+ 26.0
Homestead	— 21.8	— 44.0	— 17.1	+ 16.8
Liberty	+128.4	+118.7	+202.2	+154.9
Lincoln	+ 03.5	— 31.8	— 00.7	+ 49.4
McKeesport	+ 00.1	— 34.3	— 05.7	+ 26.1
Munhall	+ 19.3	— 23.9	+ 12.1	+ 44.1
N. Braddock	— 05.6	— 31.7	— 03.2	+ 37.7
N. Versailles	+ 47.7	+ 11.9	+ 55.2	+ 44.4
Pitcairn	— 00.5	— 23.3	— 07.4	+ 33.7
Port Vue	+ 62.2	+ 01.8	+ 54.4	+121.1
Rankin	— 17.8	— 42.6	— 22.1	+ 40.7
Trafford	— 15.7	— 27.1	+ 11.5	+142.8
Turtle Creek	— 09.5	— 31.2	— 00.4	+ 25.0
Versailles	+ 00.8	— 26.9	+ 05.3	+ 28.9
Wall	— 12.0	— 36.1	— 18.9	+ 39.8
W. Elizabeth	— 10.8	— 33.7	— 25.4	+ 35.6
W. Homestead	+ 57.6	+ 12.4	+ 18.8	+ 17.6
W. Mifflin	+ 63.8	+ 28.3	+ 83.4	+ 64.7
Whitaker	— 01.8	— 20.7	+ 27.3	+ 42.4
White Oak	+ 58.0	+ 21.2	+ 31.2	+ 96.3
Wilmerding	— 09.3	— 37.9	— 07.9	+ 25.9
Mon-Yough	+ 11.8	— 21.1	+ 14.6	+ 35.4
Allegheny County	+ 25.3	— 12.2	+ 09.7	+ 32.1

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE IV
NON-WHITE POPULATION BY COMMUNITY

	1960		1950	
Community	# of Non-Whites	%	# of Non-Whites	%
Braddock Hills	258	12.0	341	17.4
Braddock	2,908	23.6	2,679	16.4
Clairton	4,033	21.9	3,410	17.4
Dravosburg	2	00.1	1	00.1
Duquesne	2,148	14.7	1,649	09.4
E. McKeesport	13	00.6	13	00.4
E. Pittsburgh	205	05.0	82	01.6
Elizabeth	150	05.9	127	04.9
Elizabeth Twp.	445	03.3	544	05.5
Forward Twp.	222	05.0	232	05.4
Glassport	21	00.3	44	00.5
Homestead	1,361	18.4	1,380	13.7
Liberty	49	01.8	18	01.2
Lincoln	7	00.6	25	01.3
McKeesport	3,494	07.9	2,684	07.7
Munhall	39	00.6	60	00.4
N. Braddock	960	07.4	721	04.2
N. Versailles	891	07.0	585	06.0
Pitcairn	4	00.1	5	00.1
Port Vue	3	01.0	15	00.3
Rankin	1,759	34.0	2,019	29.1
Trafford	0	00.0	0	00.0
Turtle Creek	10	00.1	14	00.1
Versailles	55	02.6	58	02.3
Wall	58	04.6	65	03.5
W. Elizabeth	17	01.9	83	07.3
W. Homestead	161	04.0	131	04.0
W. Mifflin	1,463	05.4	1,334	07.4
Whitaker	17	00.7	13	00.6
White Oak	63	00.5	47	00.8
Wilmerding	121	02.9	121	02.3
Mon-Yough	20,937	07.6	19,471	07.0
Allegheny County	135,824	08.3	113,762	07.5

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE V
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NON-WHITE POPULATION BY COMMUNITY

	1960				1950			
Community	19–	20–44	45–64	65+	19–	20–44	45–64	65+
Braddock Hills	93	64	72	29	143	105	78	15
Braddock	1,287	871	587	192	982	995	643	88
Clairton	1,840	1,219	816	158	1,345	1,355	612	78
Dravosburg	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Duquesne	1,007	803	377	170	638	678	289	45
E. McKeesport	6	4	3	0	6	6	0	1
E. Pittsburgh	114	46	38	7	32	28	19	3
Elizabeth	64	42	28	16	33	48	28	18
Elizabeth Twp.	179	133	86	46	214	165	139	26
Forward Twp.	111	46	43	22	88	72	57	15
Glassport	5	8	5	3	15	15	10	4
Homestead	438	436	318	108	398	549	356	77
Liberty	25	14	8	2	10	5	2	1
Lincoln	5	2	0	0	12	7	6	0
McKeesport	1,576	1,022	741	155	1,034	1,036	511	93
Munhall	15	7	10	5	22	14	15	9
N. Braddock	409	328	158	61	286	253	149	35
N. Versailles	417	259	163	52	281	187	94	23
Pitcairn	1	2	1	0	2	3	0	0
Port Vue	0	0	2	1	4	3	6	2
Rankin	743	506	370	140	759	762	428	80
Trafford	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Turtle Creek	3	4	1	2	4	3	4	3
Versailles	32	8	9	5	28	10	10	10
Wall	33	11	13	1	24	27	13	1
W. Elizabeth	5	2	6	4	48	23	11	1
W. Homestead	84	38	29	9	51	37	41	6
W. Mifflin	687	486	248	42	619	487	200	27
Whitaker	1	4	9	3	0	6	6	1
White Oak	25	18	18	3	20	13	11	3
Wilmerding	46	29	33	13	43	39	37	2
Mon-Yough	9,251	6,412	4,193	1,249	7,142	6,931	3,775	667
Allegheny County	54,535	43,463	28,272	9,554	39,432	44,296	24,256	5,778

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NON-WHITE POPULATION BY COMMUNITY

	1960				1950			
Community	19–	20–44	45–64	65+	19–	20–44	45–64	65+
Braddock Hills	36.1	24.8	27.9	11.2	41.9	30.8	22.9	04.4
Braddock	44.3	30.0	20.2	05.5	36.6	37.1	24.0	03.3
Clairton	45.1	29.9	20.0	05.0	39.4	39.7	17.9	02.3
Dravosburg	00.0	50.0	50.0	00.0	100.0	00.0	00.0	00.0
Duquesne	46.9	37.4	17.6	01.9	38.7	41.1	17.5	02.7
E. McKeesport	46.2	30.8	23.0	00.0	46.2	46.2	00.0	07.6
E. Pittsburgh	55.6	22.4	18.5	03.5	39.0	34.1	23.2	03.4
Elizabeth	42.6	28.0	18.7	10.7	26.0	37.8	22.0	14.2
Elizabeth Twp.	40.2	29.9	19.3	10.6	39.3	30.3	25.5	04.8
Forward Twp.	50.0	20.7	19.3	10.0	37.9	31.0	24.6	06.5
Glassport	23.8	38.1	23.8	14.3	34.1	34.1	22.7	09.1
Homestead	32.2	32.0	23.4	12.4	28.8	39.9	25.8	05.6
Liberty	51.0	28.6	16.3	04.1	55.6	27.8	11.1	05.6
Lincoln	71.4	28.6	00.0	00.0	48.0	28.0	24.0	00.0
McKeesport	45.1	29.3	21.2	04.4	38.5	38.6	19.0	03.5
Munhall	38.5	17.9	25.6	18.0	36.7	23.3	25.0	15.0
N. Braddock	42.6	34.2	16.5	06.7	39.6	35.1	20.7	04.9
N. Versailles	46.8	29.1	18.3	05.8	48.0	32.0	16.1	03.9
Pitcairn	25.0	50.0	25.0	00.0	40.0	60.0	00.0	00.0
Port Vue	00.0	00.0	66.6	33.4	26.7	20.0	40.0	13.3
Rankin	42.2	28.8	21.0	08.0	36.7	37.7	21.2	04.0
Trafford	00.0	00.0	00.0	00.0	00.0	00.0	00.0	00.0
Turtle Creek	35.0	25.0	10.0	20.0	28.6	21.4	28.6	21.4
Versailles	58.2	14.5	16.4	10.9	48.3	17.2	17.2	17.2
Wall	56.9	19.0	22.4	01.7	36.9	41.5	20.0	01.5
W. Elizabeth	29.4	11.8	35.3	23.5	57.8	27.7	13.2	01.2
W. Homestead	52.2	23.6	18.0	06.2	38.9	28.2	31.3	04.6
W. Mifflin	47.0	33.2	17.0	12.8	45.8	36.1	14.8	02.0
Whitaker	05.9	23.5	52.9	17.7	00.0	46.2	46.2	07.6
White Oak	39.7	28.6	28.6	03.1	42.5	27.7	23.4	06.4
Wilmerding	38.0	24.0	27.3	10.7	35.5	32.2	30.6	01.7
Mon-Yough	44.2	30.6	20.0	05.2	38.6	35.6	22.4	03.4
Allegheny County	40.2	32.0	20.8	07.0	34.7	38.9	21.3	05.1

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE VII
NON-WHITES PER 1000 WHITES BY COMMUNITY

	1960				1950			
Community	19–	20–44	45–64	65+	19–	20–44	45–64	65+
Braddock Hills	105	086	183	216	241	149	453	098
Braddock	417	291	263	172	229	174	232	086
Clairton	360	292	253	116	248	202	196	087
Dravosburg	000	001	001	000	001	000	000	000
Duquesne	248	202	116	108	137	103	081	040
E. McKeesport	005	004	004	000	006	005	000	004
E. Pittsburgh	093	038	037	061	021	014	016	008
Elizabeth	081	055	050	050	044	052	049	075
Elizabeth Twp.	033	028	032	050	065	044	082	039
Forward Twp.	061	030	054	071	056	045	090	058
Glassport	002	004	003	004	005	004	005	007
Homestead	253	237	194	120	167	156	178	098
Liberty	018	012	012	011	016	009	009	014
Lincoln	007	003	000	000	018	008	023	000
McKeesport	118	080	071	029	074	054	045	022
Munhall	003	001	002	003	005	002	004	007
N. Braddock	098	087	061	048	063	044	055	038
N. Versailles	083	056	070	080	083	046	062	050
Pitcairn	001	001	001	000	001	001	000	000
Port Vue	000	000	002	003	002	001	009	013
Rankin	630	448	526	357	481	365	451	268
Trafford	000	000	000	000	000	000	000	000
Turtle Creek	001	001	001	002	001	001	002	004
Versailles	044	011	017	018	039	010	020	048
Wall	061	024	047	006	038	039	038	008
W. Elizabeth	015	007	035	035	144	056	049	012
W. Homestead	058	026	037	031	055	029	063	024
W. Mifflin	066	052	050	034	102	068	076	036
Whitaker	002	006	017	015	000	007	014	007
White Oak	008	006	008	004	010	005	007	009
Wilmerding	034	022	032	024	029	018	033	005
Mon-Yough	105	079	075	053	089	067	079	038
Allegheny County	104	089	085	065	093	079	080	051

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE VIIa
CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE

	Total Population Under 5 Years of Age		Non-Whites Under 5 Years Per 1000 Whites under 5	
Community	1960	1950	1960	1950
Braddock Hills	255	260	094	135
Braddock	1,111	1,652	475	200
Clairton	2,052	2,069	427	238
Dravosburg	295	364	000	000
Duquesne	1,731	1,641	220	156
E. McKeesport	236	301	012	010
E. Pittsburgh	367	522	129	028
Elizabeth	237	247	068	051
Elizabeth Twp.	1,569	1,083	054	060
Forward Twp.	556	512	082	076
Glassport	869	896	002	003
Homestead	614	833	248	175
Liberty	402	281	020	014
Lincoln	209	200	000	010
McKeesport	4,056	4,711	123	072
Munhall	1,591	1,409	002	004
N. Braddock	1,393	1,537	109	052
N. Versailles	1,635	1,322	067	060
Pitcairn	488	551	000	000
Port Vue	764	692	000	001
Rankin	503	676	634	519
Trafford	019	014	000	000
Turtle Creek	1,106	1,298	001	002
Versailles	211	233	029	036
Wall	141	188	060	039
W. Elizabeth	105	130	019	140
W. Homestead	550	286	054	040
W. Mifflin	3,168	2,120	065	086
Whitaker	185	195	000	000
White Oak	843	720	006	010
Wilmerding	369	528	031	025
Mon-Yough	29,640	27,471	100	084
Allegheny County	172,477	146,622	107	090

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE VIII
PERCENTAGE OF FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION MEMBERS OF THE POPULATION BY COMMUNITY
1960

Community	Foreign Stock*	Foreign Born**	Foreign Born as % of Foreign Stock	East European as % of Foreign Stock
Braddock Hills	31.4	04.7	15.1	37.4
Braddock	34.0	08.4	24.8	49.0
Clairton	29.1	07.9	27.2	29.8
Dravosburg	20.2	03.0	15.1	42.0
Duquesne	41.7	10.8	25.9	40.0
E. McKeesport	24.5	04.4	15.7	30.0
E. Pittsburgh	39.4	09.9	25.0	37.8
Elizabeth	22.2	03.0	13.6	18.5
Elizabeth Twp.	27.6	04.9	17.8	28.1
Forward Twp.	25.5	02.5	14.7	24.0
Glassport	43.0	09.3	21.6	45.5
Homestead	36.5	09.8	26.8	45.7
Liberty	29.9	05.2	17.5	53.6
Lincoln	20.5	02.4	11.8	36.7
McKeesport	36.5	09.0	24.8	41.3
Munhall	42.7	09.9	23.1	50.9
N. Braddock	40.0	09.2	22.9	39.6
N. Versailles	28.1	04.3	15.4	38.6
Pitcairn	22.6	05.8	25.5	14.1
Port Vue	36.2	05.9	16.4	62.6
Rankin	36.5	09.9	27.1	63.6
Trafford	20.7	00.0	00.0	13.8
Turtle Creek	28.7	06.2	21.5	17.4
Versailles	35.0	06.8	19.4	34.3
Wall	47.2	15.2	32.2	51.1
W. Elizabeth	25.0	06.3	25.2	05.2
W. Homestead	36.0	07.8	21.8	47.1
W. Mifflin	33.1	05.1	15.4	49.3
Whitaker	42.4	09.9	23.2	58.5
White Oak	30.8	04.4	14.2	39.1
Wilmerding	41.8	10.4	24.8	21.2
Mon-Yough	34.2	07.5	21.9	40.9
Allegheny County	29.3	06.5	22.3	30.1

Source: U.S. Census

* Includes 1st and 2nd generations

** Refers to 1st generation or immigrants

TABLE IX

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN YEARS OF THE 25 YEARS AND OLDER POPULATION BY COMMUNITY, 1960

Community	0–7	8–11	High School	1–3 Coll.	4+ College
Braddock Hills ..	260	560	464	65	47
Braddock	2,333	3,031	1,584	123	176
Clairton	2,864	3,758	2,778	574	460
Dravosburg	362	885	616	106	70
Duquesne	2,835	3,370	2,216	392	299
E. McKeesport ..	326	783	711	136	106
E. Pittsburgh	790	1,013	615	75	79
Elizabeth	360	548	478	97	88
Elizabeth Twp. ..	1,641	3,073	2,439	431	408
Forward Twp. ..	672	1,139	556	60	54
Glassport	1,424	1,835	1,033	455	99
Homestead	1,296	1,961	1,288	171	174
Liberty	405	810	724	90	27
Lincoln	202	386	241	56	17
McKeesport	7,738	11,605	6,466	1,409	989
Munhall	2,136	4,152	3,117	750	563
N. Braddock	1,782	3,191	2,186	432	119
N. Versailles	1,266	2,900	2,568	399	264
Pitcairn	697	1,321	1,062	173	80
Port Vue	752	1,454	1,179	138	119
Rankin	1,131	1,101	641	54	52
Trafford	17	42	23	0	0
Turtle Creek	1,311	2,680	1,770	260	167
Versailles	355	655	351	41	15
Wall	329	360	139	3	4
W. Elizabeth	134	242	111	19	20
W. Homestead ..	573	953	691	83	68
W. Mifflin	2,653	6,048	5,120	708	527
Whitaker	384	592	280	33	21
White Oak	822	1,822	1,813	485	499
Wilmerding	685	1,139	748	98	50
Mon-Yough	38,535	63,359	43,998	7,813	5,661
Allegheny County	294,901	540,010	383,147	89,625	101,042

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE X
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN YEARS OF THE 25 YEARS AND OLDER POPULATION BY COMMUNITY

	1960					1950					
Community	0–7	8–11	12	1–3 Coll.	4+ Coll.	0–7	8–11	12	1–3 Coll.	4+ Coll.	Not Reported
Braddock Hills	19.3	37.9	34.5	04.8	03.5	35.5	37.9	19.2	00.9	05.1	01.4
Braddock	32.2	41.8	21.9	01.7	02.4	40.4	34.2	18.9	02.6	02.6	01.3
Clairton	27.5	36.0	26.6	05.5	04.4	29.2	37.1	23.0	04.9	04.7	01.1
Dravosburg	17.8	43.4	30.2	05.2	03.4	20.5	43.6	26.6	03.0	04.4	01.9
Duquesne	31.1	37.0	24.3	04.3	03.3	36.8	36.0	20.1	02.6	03.6	00.9
E. McKeesport	15.8	38.0	34.5	06.6	05.1	18.3	39.5	28.0	06.6	06.0	01.6
E. Pittsburgh	30.7	39.4	23.9	02.9	03.1	27.0	43.4	22.8	03.2	01.6	02.0
Elizabeth	22.9	34.9	30.4	06.2	05.6	19.7	35.0	30.6	06.4	06.1	02.2
Elizabeth Twp.	20.5	38.5	30.5	05.4	05.1	32.2	40.7	17.2	05.2	03.5	01.2
Forward Twp.	27.1	45.9	22.4	02.4	02.2	41.6	39.8	13.3	01.8	01.1	02.4
Glassport	29.4	37.9	21.3	09.4	02.0	35.3	36.9	20.9	04.2	02.2	00.5
Homestead	26.5	40.1	26.3	03.5	03.6	31.8	37.2	21.6	04.1	03.1	02.2
Liberty	19.7	39.4	35.2	04.4	01.3	37.2	42.6	13.5	04.0	02.7	00.0
Lincoln	22.4	42.8	26.7	06.2	01.9	26.3	42.3	22.5	05.2	02.8	00.9
McKeesport	27.4	41.2	22.9	05.0	03.5	31.5	37.6	20.5	04.1	04.2	01.1
Munhall	19.9	38.7	29.1	07.0	05.3	26.2	37.3	24.2	06.0	05.1	01.2
N. Braddock	23.1	41.4	28.4	05.6	01.5	34.5	37.0	22.4	01.7	01.6	02.8
N. Versailles	17.1	39.2	34.7	05.4	03.6	21.9	41.8	27.4	04.4	02.7	00.8
Pitcairn	20.9	39.6	31.9	05.2	02.4	19.2	43.2	27.4	04.1	03.6	02.5
Port Vue	20.6	39.9	32.4	03.8	03.3	28.7	42.5	21.1	04.5	02.5	00.7
Rankin	38.0	37.0	21.5	01.8	01.7	45.3	29.9	19.5	02.4	00.9	02.0
Trafford	20.7	51.2	28.0	00.0	00.0	33.3	42.9	19.0	04.8	00.0	00.0
Turtle Creek	21.2	43.3	28.6	04.2	02.7	20.2	43.0	28.4	04.2	03.3	00.9
Versailles	25.0	46.2	24.8	02.9	01.1	27.8	45.5	20.4	03.7	02.3	00.3
Wall	39.4	43.1	16.6	00.4	00.5	50.7	34.3	12.2	01.4	00.9	00.5
W. Elizabeth	25.5	46.0	21.1	03.6	03.8	30.2	40.3	20.9	03.1	03.9	01.6
W. Homestead	24.2	40.2	29.2	03.5	02.9	35.0	39.8	19.1	02.9	02.7	00.5
W. Mifflin	17.6	40.2	34.0	04.7	03.5	26.3	42.4	23.2	04.6	02.7	00.8
Whitaker	29.3	45.2	21.4	02.5	01.6	33.9	43.1	14.5	05.3	02.0	01.2
White Oak	15.1	33.5	33.3	08.9	09.2	18.2	36.0	30.0	07.7	07.4	00.7
Wilmerding	25.2	41.9	27.5	03.6	01.8	26.7	36.8	24.8	05.2	05.3	01.2
Mon-Yough	24.2	39.7	27.6	04.9	03.6	30.1	38.4	22.2	04.4	03.6	01.3
Allegheny County	20.9	38.3	27.2	06.4	07.2	25.5	36.9	20.0	06.1	08.4	03.1

TABLE XI
DEPENDENCY RATIOS BY COMMUNITY[*]

	Population						Labor Force
	1960			1950			1960
Community	total	white	non-white	total	white	non-white	
Braddock Hills	1.89	1.89	1.90	1.85	1.90	1.86	2.76
Braddock	1.84	1.80	1.99	1.63	1.63	1.64	2.40
Clairton	1.95	1.94	1.98	1.66	1.64	1.73	2.80
Dravosburg	1.80	1.77	N.A.[**]	1.69	1.69	N.A.	2.47
Duquesne	1.78	1.78	1.82	1.58	1.57	1.71	2.69
E. McKeesport	1.79	1.79	1.86	1.66	1.66	2.17	2.48
E. Pittsburgh	1.77	1.75	3.80	1.61	1.60	1.74	2.66
Elizabeth	1.85	1.84	2.14	1.67	1.67	1.67	2.74
Elizabeth Twp.	1.85	1.85	2.03	1.73	1.73	1.79	2.87
Forward Twp.	1.94	1.92	2.49	1.83	1.83	1.80	3.09
Glassport	1.82	1.82	1.62	1.47	1.47	1.76	2.60
Homestead	1.77	1.77	1.81	1.56	1.57	1.52	2.45
Liberty	1.95	1.95	1.53	1.93	1.92	2.57	2.94
Lincoln	1.97	1.96	N.A.	1.67	1.67	1.92	3.00
McKeesport	1.83	1.82	1.98	1.57	1.52	1.73	2.65
Munhall	1.77	1.77	2.29	1.48	1.48	2.00	2.61
N. Braddock	1.93	1.92	1.98	1.66	1.66	1.79	2.74
N. Versailles	1.87	1.86	2.11	1.68	1.66	2.08	2.78
Pitcairn	1.80	1.80	N.A.	1.62	1.62	N.A.	2.59
Port Vue	2.01	2.01	N.A.	1.65	1.65	1.67	2.73
Rankin	1.91	1.86	2.01	1.64	1.62	1.70	2.74
Trafford	1.73	1.73	N.A.	1.60	1.60	N.A.	2.33
Turtle Creek	1.82	1.82	2.00	1.68	1.68	2.00	2.64
Versailles	1.80	1.79	3.24	1.64	1.62	2.90	2.54
Wall	1.99	1.97	2.42	1.71	1.72	1.63	2.94
W. Elizabeth	1.99	1.99	2.13	1.70	1.66	2.44	2.95
W. Homestead	1.79	1.78	2.40	1.61	1.61	1.68	2.65
W. Mifflin	1.82	1.81	1.99	1.68	1.70	1.50	2.71
Whitaker	1.72	1.72	1.31	1.65	1.65	1.08	2.65
White Oak	1.78	1.78	1.75	1.51	1.51	1.96	2.69
Wilmerding	1.80	1.80	1.95	1.60	1.60	1.59	2.51
Mon-Yough	1.84	1.83	1.97	1.65	1.64	1.82	2.72
Allegheny County ...	1.83	1.82	1.89	1.62	1.62	1.66	2.63

Source: U.S. Census

[*] Dependency Ratio = total population/persons 20-64 years. Labor Force D.R. = total population/labor force.

[**] Not calculated in communities with 10 or less non-whites.

TABLE XII
FAMILY INCOME BY COMMUNITY
1960

Community	$2999 and under #	$2999 and under %	$3000-$6999 #	$3000-$6999 %	$7000 and over #	$7000 and over %
Braddock Hills	47	07.8	359	59.7	195	32.5
Braddock	775	25.6	1,655	54.7	597	19.7
Clairton	796	17.1	2,657	57.0	1,205	25.9
Dravosburg	111	11.2	534	53.8	347	35.0
Duquesne	691	17.7	2,055	52.6	1,164	29.7
E. McKeesport	117	12.3	488	51.3	346	36.4
E. Pittsburgh	249	22.9	535	49.3	301	27.8
Elizabeth	111	15.2	403	56.3	215	28.5
Elizabeth Twp.	410	11.0	1,928	51.9	1,377	37.1
Forward Twp.	187	15.9	656	55.9	330	28.2
Glassport	372	16.7	1,238	55.5	619	27.8
Homestead	426	21.4	1,047	52.6	519	26.0
Liberty	69	07.0	547	55.6	367	37.4
Lincoln	48	11.0	239	54.7	150	34.3
McKeesport	2,365	19.6	6,417	53.3	3,257	27.1
Munhall	495	10.5	2,280	48.3	1,943	41.2
N. Braddock	730	20.9	1,928	55.2	837	23.9
N. Versailles	343	09.8	1,869	53.6	1,278	36.6
Pitcairn	264	18.2	782	53.9	405	27.9
Port Vue	157	09.3	1,033	61.1	501	29.6
Rankin	349	27.8	629	50.1	277	22.1
Trafford	0	00.0	27	77.1	8	22.9
Turtle Creek	412	14.5	1,536	54.0	894	31.5
Versailles	113	18.4	325	52.9	176	28.7
Wall	87	24.0	209	57.6	67	18.4
W. Elizabeth	59	23.6	139	55.6	52	20.8
W. Homestead	119	11.0	587	54.3	375	34.7
W. Mifflin	507	07.2	3,788	53.6	2,773	39.2
Whitaker	105	17.6	305	51.1	187	31.3
White Oak	206	08.3	993	40.1	1,279	51.6
Wilmerding	191	16.3	639	54.5	343	29.2
Mon-Yough	10,911	15.3	37,827	53.2	22,384	31.5
Allegheny County	57,480	13.7	194,040	46.3	167,390	40.0
County less Pittsburgh	29,463	11.0	120,599	45.1	117,014	43.8

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE XIII
INDUSTRY SECTOR OF EMPLOYED PERSONS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC, 1960

Community	Total Employed	% Wage & Salary	% Self emp.	% Unpaid Family Workers	Sector % government
Braddock Hills	823	91.6	03.2	–	05.2
Braddock	4,054	88.6	04.1	00.5	06.8
Clairton	6,002	87.0	03.9	00.5	08.6
Dravosburg	1,293	87.9	04.3	–	07.8
Duquesne	5,075	87.4	05.3	00.4	06.9
E. Mckeesport	1,324	85.1	05.5	00.3	09.1
E. Pittsburgh	1,451	88.8	03.6	–	07.6
Elizabeth	882	84.1	10.1	00.5	05.3
Elizabeth Twp.	4,620	86.4	06.7	00.2	06.7
Forward Twp.	1,392	84.8	07.5	00.2	07.5
Glassport	2,960	89.0	06.5	00.9	03.6
Homestead	2,844	88.4	04.1	00.2	07.3
Liberty	1,177	87.5	06.0	00.6	05.9
Lincoln	526	87.5	07.4	–	05.1
McKeesport	15,538	85.9	06.0	00.5	07.6
Munhall	6,307	88.1	04.7	00.2	07.0
N. Braddock	4,440	90.0	04.6	00.1	05.3
N. Versailles	4,515	88.2	04.7	01.0	06.1
Pitcairn	1,936	84.4	07.5	–	08.1
Port Vue	2,276	88.5	04.1	00.2	07.2
Rankin	1,677	88.1	04.3	–	07.6
Trafford	60	100.0	–	–	–
Turtle Creek	3,765	89.0	04.3	00.4	06.3
Versailles	858	86.2	03.1	02.1	08.6
Wall	458	94.1	02.4	–	03.5
W. Elizabeth	287	78.7	05.9	01.5	13.9
W. Homestead	1,534	87.5	04.4	00.5	07.6
W. Mifflin	9,428	88.8	03.4	00.1	07.7
Whitaker	751	88.3	06.1	–	05.6
White Oak	3,201	80.3	12.8	00.8	06.1
Wilmerding	1,620	83.5	06.4	–	10.1
Mon-Yough	92,974	87.4	05.3	00.2	07.1
Allegheny County	577,613	83.1	06.9	00.4	08.5

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE XIIIa
PERCENT OF EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE WORKING IN PITTSBURGH, 1960

Community	% Work in Pittsburgh
Braddock Hills	23.1
Braddock	12.1
Clairton	06.6
Dravosburg	11.1
Duquesne	10.1
E. McKeesport	11.0
E. Pittsburgh	07.2
Elizabeth	04.5
Elizabeth Twp.	08.6
Forward Twp.	04.6
Glassport	05.8
Homestead	21.0
Liberty	05.1
Lincoln	04.8
McKeesport	06.5
Munhall	22.1
N. Braddock	10.2
N. Versailles	12.3
Pitcairn	07.6
Port Vue	06.4
Rankin	20.0
Trafford	06.7
Turtle Creek	11.5
Versailles	05.6
Wall	11.8
W. Elizabeth	07.0
W. Homestead	21.8
W. Mifflin	19.4
Whitaker	07.3
White Oak	11.9
Wilmerding	11.9
Mon-Yough	11.9
Allegheny County	45.5

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE XIV
OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE (in percentages)
1960

Community	Professional & Managers	Sales & Clerical	Craftsmen	Operatives	Service & Labor	Not reported
Braddock Hills	13.9	24.1	18.0	22.0	19.1	03.0
Braddock	09.0	19.2	16.3	22.8	28.3	04.3
Clairton	13.2	20.0	20.7	17.3	25.3	03.6
Dravosburg	19.2	26.4	22.5	16.1	14.5	01.2
Duquesne	14.0	22.5	20.7	17.7	21.2	04.0
E. McKeesport	15.7	27.2	16.1	20.7	15.0	05.4
E. Pittsburgh	12.1	23.5	16.1	22.5	22.9	03.0
Elizabeth	18.8	31.0	17.3	14.6	16.9	01.4
Elizabeth Twp.	16.2	18.5	25.5	20.3	16.6	02.8
Forward Twp.	11.1	12.0	30.0	27.7	18.3	00.9
Glassport	13.6	22.2	18.3	21.5	19.3	05.1
Homestead	12.3	23.7	18.3	16.1	25.7	03.9
Liberty	18.9	18.9	27.1	19.7	13.4	02.0
Lincoln	09.5	16.2	23.0	27.4	22.6	01.3
McKeesport	14.5	23.0	16.6	19.2	11.9	05.1
Munhall	16.4	25.5	22.8	17.0	13.3	05.0
N. Braddock	08.1	23.6	19.0	26.8	20.4	01.8
N. Versailles	14.5	22.2	21.0	23.1	10.4	02.8
Pitcairn	15.3	20.4	22.4	20.2	17.1	04.5
Port Vue	13.8	24.3	22.9	22.1	14.3	02.5
Rankin	07.9	15.9	15.0	23.1	31.1	06.4
Trafford	06.7	35.0	00.0	31.7	13.3	13.3
Turtle Creek	11.7	24.4	17.3	25.1	10.0	04.6
Versailles	11.1	21.9	23.7	21.1	18.6	03.6
Wall	03.3	23.1	17.7	29.7	19.0	07.2
W. Elizabeth	19.2	18.1	16.0	20.9	21.6	04.2
W. Homestead	08.6	23.7	23.7	17.1	25.5	01.5
W. Mifflin	12.3	22.7	27.6	19.8	16.0	01.0
Whitaker	09.3	22.8	28.5	17.4	18.6	03.3
White Oak	25.6	22.9	20.9	15.4	11.4	03.9
Wilmerding	11.8	28.8	10.4	20.9	19.6	08.5
Mon-Yough	13.7	22.5	20.6	20.2	19.4	03.7
Allegheny County	20.5	25.8	15.5	15.2	18.3	04.6

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE XIVa
SIZE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE (Absolute Numbers)
1960

Community	Total	Males	Females
Braddock Hills	823	615	208
Braddock	4,054	2,804	1,250
Clairton	6,002	4,472	1,530
Dravosburg	1,293	930	363
Duquesne	5,075	3,663	1,412
E. McKeesport	1,324	910	414
E. Pittsburgh	1,451	986	465
Elizabeth	882	630	252
Elizabeth Twp.	4,620	3,607	1,013
Forward Twp.	1,392	1,137	255
Glassport	2,960	2,094	866
Homestead	2,844	1,937	907
Liberty	1,177	982	195
Lincoln	526	441	85
McKeesport	15,538	10,857	4,681
Munhall	6,307	4,490	1,817
N. Braddock	4,440	3,216	1,224
N. Versailles	4,515	3,431	1,084
Pitcairn	1,936	1,406	530
Port Vue	2,276	1,673	603
Rankin	1,677	1,181	496
Trafford	60	39	21
Turtle Creek	3,765	2,665	1,100
Versailles	858	606	252
Wall	458	332	126
W. Elizabeth	287	196	91
W. Homestead	1,534	1,161	373
W. Mifflin	9,428	7,118	2,310
Whitaker	751	564	187
White Oak	3,201	2,495	706
Wilmerding	1,620	1,056	564
Mon-Yough	92,974	67,694	25,380
Allegheny County	577,613	403,438	174,175

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE XV

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EMPLOYED MALES BY COMMUNITY (in percentages)

1960

Community	Professional & Managers	Sales & Clerical	Craftsmen	Operatives	Service & Labor	Not reported
Braddock Hills	14.6	16.8	24.1	23.3	18.3	02.9
Braddock	06.9	11.2	23.0	27.5	28.4	03.0
Clairton	11.6	10.9	27.5	21.6	24.9	03.5
Dravosburg	19.2	13.9	30.0	21.2	14.3	01.4
Duquesne	11.6	12.5	28.1	22.8	21.2	03.8
E. McKeesport	13.4	18.7	22.1	28.0	15.0	05.8
E. Pittsburgh	12.2	13.1	22.4	28.3	21.1	02.9
Elizabeth	19.6	18.3	23.8	19.8	17.3	01.2
Elizabeth Twp.	16.2	10.3	32.5	24.1	15.1	01.8
Forward Twp.	08.9	06.0	36.1	31.3	16.6	00.7
Glassport	13.3	11.8	25.9	26.5	18.9	03.6
Homestead	09.3	13.8	26.3	20.6	26.2	03.8
Liberty	19.1	13.9	32.5	22.8	10.6	01.1
Lincoln	07.7	07.7	27.4	31.7	23.8	01.7
McKeesport	13.0	12.9	23.5	24.4	21.1	05.1
Munhall	15.5	14.5	31.9	21.3	12.7	04.1
N. Braddock	08.2	13.1	25.6	31.5	20.6	01.0
N. Versailles	14.9	13.1	27.6	28.2	13.1	02.2
Pitcairn	15.4	12.6	30.5	25.6	12.5	03.4
Port Vue	12.8	14.0	30.4	27.4	14.0	01.4
Rankin	07.7	11.1	21.3	25.0	27.9	07.1
Trafford	10.3	20.6	—	48.5	10.3	10.3
Turtle Creek	11.5	13.8	23.8	31.6	16.7	02.6
Versailles	09.7	13.1	32.8	26.4	15.0	03.0
Wall	03.6	05.7	24.4	35.8	22.9	07.6
W. Elizabeth	19.9	04.1	23.5	30.6	15.8	06.1
W. Homestead	08.2	15.9	30.7	22.1	21.7	01.4
W. Mifflin	12.6	12.4	36.1	23.8	14.5	00.6
Whitaker	08.1	13.3	37.2	21.8	15.8	03.8
White Oak	26.2	13.3	26.5	19.0	10.8	04.2
Wilmerding	10.9	16.7	15.2	26.8	20.7	09.7
Mon-Yough	13.0	12.7	27.8	24.9	18.4	03.2
Allegheny County	21.6	17.0	21.8	18.7	16.8	04.1

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE XVI
OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EMPLOYED FEMALES BY COMMUNITY (in percentages)
1960

Community	Professional & Managers	Sales & Clerical	Craftsmen	Operatives	Service & Labor	Not reported
Braddock Hills	11.5	45.7	—	18.3	21.1	03.4
Braddock	20.2	37.5	01.3	12.2	28.2	00.6
Clairton	17.9	46.6	00.6	04.5	26.3	04.1
Dravosburg	19.0	58.4	03.3	03.0	15.1	01.2
Duquesne	19.9	48.4	01.4	04.4	21.2	04.7
E. McKeesport	20.7	50.3	02.9	04.6	14.7	06.8
E. Pittsburgh	11.8	45.4	02.5	10.1	26.7	03.5
Elizabeth	16.7	62.7	01.2	01.6	15.9	01.9
Elizabeth Twp.	16.4	47.8	00.7	06.8	22.3	06.0
Forward Twp.	21.2	36.8	03.1	11.4	25.9	01.6
Glassport	14.4	47.3	—	09.5	20.3	08.5
Homestead	18.8	45.6	01.3	06.3	24.4	04.6
Liberty	18.5	44.1	—	04.1	27.7	05.6
Lincoln	18.8	60.0	—	04.7	16.5	—
McKeesport	18.1	46.3	00.7	07.2	22.6	05.1
Munhall	18.6	52.4	00.2	06.5	15.2	07.1
N. Braddock	08.0	51.4	01.6	14.6	20.4	04.0
N. Versailles	13.1	51.0	00.7	07.0	26.1	02.1
Pitcairn	15.5	40.8	00.8	06.0	29.3	07.6
Port Vue	16.8	52.8	02.2	07.5	15.4	05.3
Rankin	08.3	27.2	—	18.5	38.8	07.2
Trafford	—	62.0	—	—	19.0	19.0
Turtle Creek	12.4	50.3	01.4	09.4	20.6	05.9
Versailles	14.3	43.2	01.6	08.3	27.4	05.2
Wall	02.4	69.0	—	13.5	08.7	07.4
W. Elizabeth	17.5	48.4	—	—	34.1	—
W. Homestead	09.6	48.1	01.9	01.3	37.2	01.9
W. Mifflin	11.7	54.4	01.3	07.5	22.2	02.9
Whitaker	12.8	51.4	02.1	04.3	27.3	02.1
White Oak	23.1	56.8	01.1	02.4	13.6	03.0
Wilmerding	13.5	51.4	01.4	10.0	17.7	06.0
Mon-Yough	15.7	48.4	01.0	07.6	22.4	04.9
Allegheny County	18.0	46.5	01.0	07.1	21.6	05.8

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE XVII
CONCENTRATION OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT, BY MAJOR INDUSTRY IN MON-YOUGH
(in percentages)

	SIC	Year			
Industry	Code	1963	1960	1957	1930
Food and Kindred Prod.	2000	02.3	02.2	01.8	03.2
Apparel & Related Prod.	2300	00.1	00.1	00.1	00.2
Lumber & Wood Prod.	2400	00.2	00.2	00.2	00.3
Furniture & Fixtures	2500	00.3	00.3	00.3	00.0
Paper & Allied Prod.	2600	00.1	00.1	00.1	00.0
Printing, Publishing & Allied Prod.	2700	00.5	00.5	00.4	00.4
Chemicals & Allied Prod.	2800	01.0	00.6	00.7	00.2
Petroleum & Coal Prod.	2900	00.1	00.1	00.0	01.3
Rubber & Misc. Plastic Prod.	3000	00.1	00.1	00.0	00.0
Stone, Clay & Glass Prod.	3200	01.2	01.1	00.7	04.8
Primary Metal Prod.	3300	54.2	54.3	57.0	32.4
Fabricated Metal Prod.	3400	07.0	05.5	04.5	20.3
Machinery, Except Electrical	3500	05.0	05.9	05.6	00.1
Electrical Machinery	3600	18.6	19.5	18.3	28.5
Transportation Equipment	3700	09.2	09.7	10.4	08.3
Instruments & Related Prod.	3800	00.1	00.1	00.1	00.0
Misc. Manufactures	3900	00.1	00.1	00.1	00.1
		N=59,066	N=67,078	N=80,946	N=70,430

Source: Industrial Directory of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1965, 1963, 1958, 1931), issued by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Statistics.

TABLE XVIIa
DISTRIBUTION OF MANUFACTURING FIRMS IN THE MON-YOUGH REGION
(in Percentages)

Industry	SIC Code	Year 1963	1960	1957	1930
Food & Related Prod.	2000	22.0	25.0	30.9	33.2
Apparel & Related Prod.	2300	01.2	01.2	02.4	13.3
Lumber & Wood Prod.	2400	03.0	02.4	03.6	06.6
Furniture & Fixtures	2500	04.8	05.4	01.8	00.0
Paper & Allied Prod.	2600	01.2	01.8	00.6	00.0
Printing, Publishing, & Allied Prod.	2700	10.7	10.1	11.5	10.4
Chemicals & Allied Prod.	2800	03.0	03.6	04.2	02.1
Petroleum & Related Prod.	2900	00.6	00.6	00.0	03.3
Rubber & Misc. Plastic Prod.	3000	01.2	01.8	00.0	00.0
Stone, Clay & Glass Prod.	3200	07.1	07.1	05.5	11.2
Primary Metal Prod.	3300	07.1	06.5	07.9	03.3
Fabricated Metal Prod.	3400	19.0	17.3	15.2	10.0
Machinery, Except Electrical	3500	11.9	09.5	09.7	01.2
Electrical Machinery	3600	02.4	03.0	01.8	00.4
Transportation Equipment	3700	02.4	03.0	02.4	04.1
Instruments & Related Prod.	3800	00.6	00.6	00.6	00.0
Misc. Manufactures	3900	01.8	01.2	01.8	00.8
		N = 168	N = 168	N = 165	N = 241

Source: Industrial Directory of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1965, 1963, 1958, 1931), issued by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Statistics.

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INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON HUMAN RESOURCES
THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

The Institute for Research on Human Resources was organized in November 1964 for the general purpose of conducting research in the way in which society invests in human resources.

In its work the Institute calls on many disciplines which cross both college and departmental lines, including such disciplines as economics, education, psychology, sociology, and political science. Increased emphasis on interdisciplinary research is anticipated as the research program broadens.

The work of the Institute is supported by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and various federal agencies, including the U.S. Office of Education and the U.S. Department of Labor, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction, and various private foundations.

The Institute has conducted a series of research seminars in a variety of areas, such as public assistance and health services manpower, for the purpose of delineating potential areas for research.

Its publications include:

Research, Development, and Demonstration in Adult Training and Retraining, The Pennsylvania State University, September 1966. by Jacob J. Kaufman, Grant N. Farr, and John C. Shearer.

The Role of the Secondary School in the Preparation of Youth for Employment, The Pennsylvania State University, February 1967. by Jacob J. Kaufman, Carl J. Schaefer, Morgan V. Lewis, David W. Stevens, and Elaine W. House.

A Community Organizes for Action: A Case Study of the Mon-Yough Region in Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University, July 1967. by Robert W. Avery and Herbert A. Chesler.

The Development and Utilization of Human Resources: A Guide for Research, The Pennsylvania State University, July 1967. by Jacob J. Kaufman, Grant N. Farr, and John C. Shearer.

A Developmental Program for an Economic Evaluation of Vocational Education in Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University, June 1966. by Ernst W. Stromsdorfer.

The Issues, Evaluation, and Potential of Vocational Education in Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University, October 1967. by Jacob J. Kaufman and Morgan V. Lewis.

An Analysis of the Comparative Costs and Benefits of Vocational Versus Academic Education in Secondary Schools, The Pennsylvania State University, October 1967. by Jacob J. Kaufman, Ernst W. Stromsdorfer, Teh-wei Hu, and Maw Lin Lee.

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